VOL. LII The No. 186

Church Review

EDITED BY THE

Rev. Henry Mason Baum

JULY, 1888

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NEW YORK

Henry Mason Baum

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Press of G. W. Burnham & Co., 16 Dey Street, New York.

CATALOGED

Y.52

The
Church Review

VOL. LII.—JULY, 1888.—NO. CLXXXVI.

The Russian Church and Russian Dissent.

The Russian Church and Russian Dissent. By Albert F. Heard. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1887.

THE above is the title of a recent book by Mr. Albert F. Heard, of Boston. It is noteworthy, first, because it is a contribution to the study of Church history by an American, and second, because the field surveyed is one little known, but yet just at present, on account of the prominent position occupied by Russian authors, of particular interest.

Mr. Heard is not a theologian nor a Church historian, unless, indeed, his book gives him the latter title. While resident at Shanghai he was appointed by the Russian Government its Consul-General for China, and that position has given him peculiarly favorable opportunities for studying the Russian people and understanding their institutions. Mr. Heard is now Mr. Bayard's private secretary, to whom his extensive knowledge of foreign affairs cannot fail to be of great value.

The book lays no claim to original research. It is compiled chiefly from French authorities. For some reason the French, more than other nations, seem to take interest in Russia. Without exception, I believe the novels come to us through the French. One or two of Tolstoi's recent religious works are professedly direct translations from Russian, but if I am not mistaken, no English-speaking scholars claim to possess at first hand an intimate acquaintance with Russian literature.

Russian, like much Western Christianity, began at the top of the social organism. The early missionaries of the Cross in the North of Europe did not, like the Apostles, preach to

those who were not wise after the flesh, nor mighty, nor noble, and thus permeating society in its lower strata, reach at last the throne itself, but they began with the throne. They obtained a hearing at court, sometimes succeeding in winning favor, at other times enduring suffering, torture and death for their temerity. Where success attended their efforts, a royal edict usually followed, which decreed the destruction of the national idols, and marched the people into a convenient river to receive baptism.

In the year 955 Olga, wife of Igur, ruler of Kiev, then the most powerful city in Russia, journeyed to Constantinople in search of the true GOD, and was there baptised by the name of Helena, in memory of the sainted mother of Constantine the Great. Nestor, a renowned Russian monk, who died 1116, calls Olga "the dawn and morning star of salvation for Russia." The humble creed and self-denying precepts of his mother's new religion were repugnant to her son Sviatoslar, who had succeeded his father Igur on the throne, but he committed the education of his children to her care. Among these was Vladimir, eventually Grand Duke—Tsar is a later title—a great name in early Russian history. His success in war attracted the attention of Southern nations, and they sought his conversion. Missionaries from Bulgaria, then Mahometan, pictured to him the delights of Mohammed's paradise, with which he was favorably impressed, but he could not endure their total abstinence views, "for drinking," said he, "is the delight of Russians, nor can we live without it." Drinking still continues to be the delight of Russians, and its persistent increase is causing grave alarm. The advocates of Judaism were dismissed, because their national life had ceased, while doctors of Rome met with scant courtesy, because the nations from which they came were troublesome political neighbors. The Greek priests from Constantinople encountered a more favorable reception, doubtless largely because they recalled the early teaching Vladimir had received from his grandmother, Olga. In 987 he sent an embassage to examine the different faiths in their own homes. At Constantinople, more than elsewhere, the importance of this mission was recognised, and every effort made to impress the imaginations of its members

and to convince them of the superiority of the Greek Church. Hear their report on their return:

When we stood in the temple in Constantinople we hardly knew whether or not we were in heaven, for, in truth, upon earth it is impossible to behold such glory and magnificence; we could not tell all we have seen; there verily GOD has his dwelling among men, and the worship of other countries is as nothing. Never can we forget the grandeur which we saw. Whoever has enjoyed so sweet a sight can never elsewhere be satisfied, nor will we remain longer as we are.

We have seen young men with wings in dazzling robes (these were the deacons and sub-deacons, dressed as angels for the occasion), who, without touching the ground, chanted in the air Holy, Holy, Holy.

They wanted no further proof of the divinity of the Greek faith.

Another striking testimony of the value and power of gorgeous ceremonial in the service of the Church, but the less said of the ethics involved the better.

The result was that Vladimir finally consented to embrace Christianity, provided the daughter of the Emperor Basil II was given to him in marriage—a sort of baptismal gift, as sponsors give silver spoons and prayer books.

This was granted, though the maiden's consent was not obtained, and Vladimir became a Christian.

With characteristic energy he commenced at once the conversion of his subjects. His twelve sons and all the people were baptised, under penalty of his anger, and the national idols were overthrown, and thus the Christianity of the Holy Orthodox Greek Church became the established religion of Russia.

One cannot help wondering what the effect would have been in subsequent history if the court had remained Pagan, and the Faith had been allowed to reach the nation by humble and obscure channels.

The Church thus introduced into Russia was developed with great zeal. Bishoprics were multiplied, and everywhere schools were established and churches built. Deference was at first, and naturally, paid to Constantinople, but soon the Church acquired a national character, and in 1051 Hilarion, a native Russian, was made Metropolitan without any reference to Constantinople.

When the schism between East and West took place Russia followed the fortunes of the East, and steadfastly resisted all efforts made by Rome to establish the Papal authority in the country. At the period when Russia was groaning under the Tartar invasion, Rome offered to arouse the Christian princes of Europe in a crusade against these Mongols, if the Russian Church would unite with Rome, and acknowledge the supremacy of her bishop, but the offer was disdainfully rejected, and throughout her career the Church has been uniformly patriotic and national in spirit and feeling.

The religious divergence between East and West is not satisfactorily explained by the points of theological difference. The double procession of the HOLY GHOST, the time of the observance of Easter, the method of fasting in Lent, and clerical celibacy—these are indications, rather than causes of divergence. The real causes are found in the temper and disposition of the people, and in the nature of their civilisation. Political causes also play a large part in compelling the separation. Eastern and Western ideas do not run in the same grooves. The Eastern mind looks at things from a point of view foreign to Western comprehension. The former is speculative, acute, active, rhetorical and fond of argument for argument's sake. The latter is practical, legal, logical, caring more for results than processes of thought. This distinction was from the first emphasised by fortune. The Roman Church began to feel its power and coherence, while the civil authority, at its side, began to show signs of lamentable weakness. It learned consequently to stand alone, to become theocratic in its character, to be a bulwark to the State, and often to assume the functions of the State. But from the first the Church at Constantinople was overshadowed by the State. The Emperor was absolute head of the Church, and dictated in her affairs. Her moral power was weakened by State patronage. She learned to lean upon the State and to find protection and aid from it. While the Greeks were absorbed in the congenial task of making nice philosophic and theologic distinctions, the Romans were busy consolidating their power and building up an Empire, patterned closely after that of Augustus, and destined to rival it in splendor and extent. The ideal and

aims of the one were never those of the other, and there consequently never could be union between them. It is fortunate for the cause of human liberty that this difference of motive existed. Had the Papacy succeeded in bringing Russia within its dominion, the difficulties under which the Reformers of the sixteenth century labored would certainly have been greatly increased. Did we not, as Stanley expresses it, see behind the imposing, portentous figure of Rome, which in the West so fills the ecclesiastical horizon, a vaster, loftier, darker figure—the Church of Russia—overtopping it, we might well tremble for the ultimate triumph of pure and simple Christianity. Turn from the Tiber to the Bosphorus; we shall see that there are two kings in the field, two suns in the heavens. The voice of authority is no less confident at Constantinople and Moscow than at Rome. In the eye of the Orthodox Greek the Pope is not the representative of a faith pure and undefiled, but is "the first Protestant," "the founder of German rationalism." The Eastern patriarchs speak in their solemn documents of the Papal supremacy as "the chief heresy of the latter days, which flourishes now as its predecessor, Arianism, flourished before it in the earlier ages, and which, like Arianism, shall in like manner be cast down and vanish away."

But it is with Russian Dissent that this article is specially concerned, and to that we now turn our attention.

Although the history of the Orthodox Church is far less varied and consequently less interesting than that of the Western Churches, yet parallels with Western development can be drawn indefinitely, which both by way of contrast and similarity, are instructive and suggestive. The Church of Russia, like the Church of the West, has had its Reformation, or Revolution, as it is the fashion now to call this movement, and still has its internal parties and countless sects. It is from the Reformation period that these sects date their beginning, just as our Dissent is all traceable to ideas set on foot in the upheaval of the sixteenth century.

With the Reformation is connected a great name, Nikon, patriarch of Moscow, and unquestionably the greatest character in the annals of the Russian Hierarchy. A man of immense stature (seven feet in height), of iron will, of indefati-

gable energy, of despotic temper. As ambitious as Wolsey, as imperious as Hildebrand, as keen as Richelieu, as eloquent as Chrysostom. He felt the need of reform as ardently as Luther; he compelled the Russian Church to accept his reforms with the absolutism of Henry VIII. His barbarian nature reveled in pomp and magnificence in public, and yet, like a true Oriental, he practiced the severest austerities in private. Intolerant and bigoted, in only one direction was his mind open to new impressions. For the Ancient Church of Constantinople he entertained a reverent regard, and to bring the Russian Church into ceremonial accord with Constantinople was the chief aim of his life. Of himself he said: "I am a Russian, and the son of a Russian, but my faith and my religion are Grecian."

Nikon became patriarch in 1652. He was deposed 1667 and died 1681. The Russian movement is, therefore, a hundred and fifty years behind the Western Reformation. The date of the "Theses" is 1517, of the suppression of the greater abbeys in England 1539. Harvard College had been founded thirty-one years when Nikon was deposed and banished.

Between Eastern and Western Reformations no parallel can be drawn but one of contrast. Nikon stood alone in urging his reforms. No popular agitation sustained him in his attack on abuses, or welcomed his innovations. Alexis, the second of the Romanoffs, was his only friend, but as long as he could count on that friendship no other was needed. It gave him absolute power.

With indomitable courage and fierce severity he set himself to root out ecclesiastical abuses. Drunken and dissolute priests were imprisoned, scourged, made to do slaves' work, or banished with their families to Siberia. Priests who had married the second time were imprisoned. The monasteries were reformed and new ones built.

The neglect of preaching, always apparently a symptom of decay in the Church, he made every effort to overcome. I cannot, however, find that he issued a book of exciting and fascinating homilies, "to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people." His method of reform was rather by way of exam-

ple—witness Archdeacon Paul, of Antioch, on a visit to the Northern barbarians, and writing of what he saw at Moscow:

> Remark, brother, what happened now—an occurrence which surprised and confused our understandings. It was that, so far were they from being content with their lengthened services, that the deacon brought to the patriarch (Nikon) the book of lessons, which they opened before him, and he began to read the lesson for this day, on the subject of the Second Advent; and not only did he read it, but he preached and expounded the meaning of the words to the standing and silent assembly; until our spirits were broken within us during the tedious while. GOD preserve us and save us!

And on another occasion the good archdeacon gives vent to his emotions on this wise:

> The patriarch was not satisfied with the Ritual, but he must needs crown all with an admonition and copious sermon. GOD grant him moderation! His heart did not ache for the Emperor nor for the tender infants standing uncovered in the intense cold. What should we say to this in our country?

The hitherto famous New England sermon, with its luxurious environment of foot-stoves, pennyroyal and pews with seats, must sink into insignificance before Nikon, and his services seven hours long, in the presence of an uncovered Tsar and people, standing on the stone floor of a Russian church in the depth of a Russian winter.

But the real core of Nikon's movement is not found in the reformation of abuses or the revival of preaching. Much less is any theological or doctrinal question at issue. What he had at heart was the bringing of the Russian ritual into accord with that at Constantinople. He devoted his tremendous energies to the task of establishing one ritual usage for the entire Greek Church. The direction of processions round the altar, the method of signing the cross, the singing of Halleluahs—these were the questions which absorbed the genius of this remarkable man. To secure but one method of worshipping GOD in all Eastern Christendom became the aim of his life. Nominally he succeeded, but his success created a popular irritation, which has never been allayed, and has given rise to a manifold sectarianism, numbering more than fifteen million adherents.

The parallelism between East and West has become suggestive of similarity as well as of contrast.

The following were some of the points of difference between the Russian and the other Greek Churches: The Russians held that Halleluah should be chanted twice in reference to the double nature of CHRIST, while the Greeks sang it three times in honor of the Trinity. The Russians would have processions move round the altar with the Sun; the Greeks proceeded against the Sun. The Russian priest deemed it wrong to shave his beard; the Greek felt equally guilty if he let his grow. The Russian thought that at mass seven loaves or portions of bread ought to be placed on the altar; the Greek would have but one. The Russians considered that the proper title of our LORD was "the Son of GOD," but the Greeks insisted upon "Our GOD." The Russian cross had eight points; the Greek but four. The Russian insisted that the sign of the Cross should be made with two fingers extended, to denote the double nature of CHRIST, and three closed to typify the Trinity, while the Greek extended three fingers and closed two with the same symbolism.

At a great council called by Nikon in 1654 these points were discussed, and with the exception of the form of the Cross the Greek usage was adopted and made the Russian rule.

It is here that we find the beginnings of Russian Dissent. The common people, attached to the old forms and ceremonies, disliked these changes set forth by authority. They regarded them as foreign innovations, and their patriotism, a passion of singular strength in Russia, was affronted. Unable to resist the officialism which compelled the introduction of them into the parish churches, they sought expression for their opinions in secret meetings. Sect after sect arose, each with its local following and peculiarities, but all professing as their common bond of union, opposition to reform and to the Established Church. Customs and usages long familiar had acquired the sanctity of antiquity. What if learned doctors, who had traveled to Antioch and Constantinople, assured them that the Ancient Greek Church, from which they traced their origin, sang the Halleluah three times! They and their fathers had sung it but twice! That was for them sufficiently

ancient usage. That was Russian and orthodox and sufficient for them. The innovators were Grecomaniacs.

The earlier dissenting movements in Russia had been summarily dealt with by the authorities and effectually crushed, but the discontent which Nikon's reforms caused was too wide spread to permit this treatment. Its patriotic character also hindered the official zeal, and made it unwise, from a political point of view, to resort to the severest measures. Under the name of the Raskol, or Rupture, the schism was recognised by the State, and with certain restrictions, tolerated. The Separatists called themselves "Starovertsi," or "Old Believers," but this is now the name of only one of the many sects.

There is little in the Russian Raskol akin to Western Protestantism. The latter owes its existence largely to the conservatism of established churches. The former is sectarian because of its conservatism. Protestantism is aggressive and progressive. The Raskol is stationary and dogged. The tendency of Protestantism is ever toward rationalism. The Raskolnik is a traditionalist. Protestantism is impatient of forms and ceremonies; the Raskolnik exalts these above matters of faith. It is singular, however, to note that in the interpretation of Scripture the most absolute freedom is allowed, and to this freedom many minor sub-divisions and sects are due. As in America, the second coming of CHRIST is a favorite doctrine with many sects, and our Millerites and Second Adventists have their counterparts in Russia.

Napoleon, destroyer of kings and avenger of the oppressed, was hailed by some sects as the Messiah. It is a curious fact that some still worship before his picture. They affirm that he is not dead, but will one day return with an angelic host to right those who suffer wrong.

It is of interest to note that the fanatics of Russia delight as keenly in the Revelation of S. John as do the fanatics of England and America. The problem of determining who is the Beast and who the Scarlet Woman, and when the Millenium will begin, is one which affords unending satisfaction to minds of a certain type, as numerous apparently in Russia as in Maine, Barnstable county, Massachusetts, and the West.

In spite, however, of its deficiencies, it cannot be denied

that the Raskol has during its existence of rather more than two centuries exerted a wide, varied and deeply felt influence upon the Russian nation. In a land where no speculation is tolerated in politics, it has furnished a field for the free action of the human mind, and has therefore perhaps saved the nation from utter mental stagnation and degradation. Men must have something to think and reason about. How they ought to be governed, is naturally the nearest theme, and to the Anglo-Saxon mind the most fascinating, but that is taboo in Russia. The Tsar's government has never cordially approved religious discussion, but it has given it a sort of back-door toleration, feeling that measures and methods of the kingdom of GOD, might with greater safety be discussed, than the measures and methods of its own policy.

The precarious nature of the religious freedom granted by the government is well illustrated in a note to a valuable article by George Kennan in the November *Century* [1887], entitled "The Last Appeal of the Russian Liberals." It is as follows:

A correspondent of the *Golos* at Sugdal, in the province of Vladimir, discovered that in the prison connected with the monastery at that place, there were confined two bishops and an archbishop of the dissenting sect known as the Starovertsi or Old Believers. One of the bishops had been in solitary confinement in this monasterial prison seventeen years, the other twenty-two years, and the archbishop twenty-six years. The *Golos* in commenting editorially upon its correspondent's letter, suggested that these prelates had probably been put in prison for some sectarian obstinacy, and had then been entirely forgotten. For publishing this article and commenting upon it, the *Golos* was deprived for a month of the right to print advertisements.

Such is religious toleration in Russia, and such the freedom of the press. The late Katkoff is the only type of journalist who can thrive. The immense fortune he amassed out of the *Moscow Gazette* was his reward for lending his great powers to the government to aid it in silencing every voice but his own. He began life as a Liberal, but wealth and name and fame proved stronger attractions than the snows of Siberia. Liberal opinions, even of the mildest type, are an expensive luxury in Russia.

The Raskolniks have done much to improve the morals and manners of the orthodox clergy. They have afforded the clergy that criticism, without which no established and securely intrenched body of religious teachers has ever been able to escape the clerical vices of idleness, formalism and greed of gain. They have furnished that needed thorn in the flesh, to the parish priests, which has buffeted them, and proved a spur to exertion.

Although some of the smaller sects, like our own Mormons, inculcate ideas subversive of morality, the influence of the Raskolniks as a whole is beneficial from the moral standpoint. Persecution has developed the qualities of meekness and patience. Their strong devotional feelings and earnest convictions quicken the moral nature. Their precepts encourage sobriety and thrift, and they have the reputation of being the most honest, the most capable, and the most reliable portion of the population. They are successful in manufactures and commerce, and a large share of the wealth of the nation is in their hands. At Moscow many of the finest houses and the largest factories belong to the old believers; at Perm and in the mining districts of the Ural they are the most substantial capitalists. In Russia, as elsewhere, sectarianism seems to create a kind of freemasonry, which is wonderfully helpful to the brethren in the affairs of this life, and which also unfortunately furnishes an opportunity to crafty and designing men to advance their selfish interests. While liberal and charitable, and giving freely of their means to found benevolent institutions and schools, they yet take no interest in literature and are not friends of the higher education. The intellectual movement now going on in Russia seems confined to the nobility and higher clergy of the Orthodox Church. It has scarcely touched the Raskol. Like the early Methodists they believe strongly in Divine illumination, and regard with suspicion light and truth gained by the exertion of the intellectual powers. They are theosophists rather than theologians, and illuminists rather than philosophers.

While the Russian sects for the most part reject the idea of a priesthood, and give the conduct of their worship and the administration of their affairs to laymen chosen by themselves,

one body, and that apparently the largest, the Popovtsi, retained the clerical order. At first their clergy were recruited from the renegades and deposed priests of the Orthodox Church.

Humiliating and degrading as was this means of obtaining priests, they clung to it until in the middle of this century, unexpected relief was afforded them—Ambrosius, Primate of Bosnia, was deposed by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Him the Old Believers persuaded to adopt their creed, and in 1846 he was chosen Metropolitan of their Church and given jurisdiction over all their adherents. His official residence was established at Bukowina, in Austrian territory, to avoid complications with the Russian government. His first step was the creation of a regular episcopate. He divided the empire into Dioceses, and appointed bishops subject to his authority. These prelates and their priests, known to the initiated only, are active and zealous emissaries; they officiate in secret, and in disguise wander over the land, protected by the devotion of their adherents, or if detected, easily purchase immunity from the venal officials with the abundant resources at their command. It seems probable that this sect will eventually be absorbed by the Orthodox Church. Their objection to the Union of State and Church, or rather to the State control of the Church, well called Byzantinism by Dr. Döllinger, is the only real hindrance to reunion.

In this respect the Raskol has shown capacity for progressive thought. It is now one of their convictions that State and Church should be separate. In the prayers of the Church frequent mention is made of the "very pious, very faithful Tsar, Defender of Orthodoxy, Head of the Church," stress being laid on these spiritual titles. The government requires that as evidence of their loyalty all the sects shall in their public worship pray for the Emperor. To the Raskol generally these titles are distasteful, but they conform to the government requirement. Disturbances have arisen owing to the refusal of some sects of the Bezpopovtsi to use these titles, but as a rule the sectarians are thoroughly loyal to the government, as they proved in the Polish insurrection, in the Crimean war, and as they are now proving in the Nihilist agitation.

Nihilist writers acknowledge that "there is no way to influence them to active revolutionary protest against their oppressors."

We have been treating thus far of the larger and more respectable sects. We come now to a host of religious bodies, none of which are large and many of which are far from respectable. Strictly speaking they are not included under the generic term Raskol, for they have no governmental recognition, and unlike the Raskol they show utter disregard of form and ceremony, of tradition and authority. Roughly they may be divided into two classes, mystics and rationalists. Among the former traces of Gnosticism and of other Oriental and early Christian heresies are discerned, among the latter the influence of Voltaire, and of Germany is unmistakeable. To give the chief tenets of a few of these sects will be the readiest way of indicating their general character.

The Khlysti believe in Daniel Philippovitch, who is their Messiah. They are illuminists, prohibiting any written revelalation. They practice self-flagellation, and have a strict moral code. Like the Dervishes of the desert and our own Shakers, part of their ritual is a whirling dance, the delirium of which is regarded as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit.

An offshoot of this sect is known as the Shakouni, or Jumpers. They substitute a jump for the whirl of their parent sect, and their rites are said to be grossly licentious.

Other minor sects are accused of licentious practices, and their meetings are broken up by the police.

The Skoptsi are Eunuchs. Emasculation is, according to them, the most radical and effective form of asceticism, and should, therefore, be practiced. They call themselves "White Doves," "Holy Ones," "Virgins who follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth." They are zealous propagators of their creed, because they believe that when they number one hundred and forty-four thousand the Messiah will return.

Among rationalistic sects are the Molokani, milk drinkers, who deny that the Church needs any priesthood or sacraments, and disregard all ceremonial observances, even the "pokloni," or genuflexions and crossings before the sacred pictures, a practice universally dear to the Russian heart. The Incarnation they do not consider as an isolated solitary fact in human

history, but as a miracle ever-recurring in the life of every Christian. We are curious to know if a disciple of Hegel ever found his way to them, or, on the other hand, did Hegel ever hear of them? Like the Quakers, they hold that the Sacraments are to be interpreted only in a spiritual sense, and so they have ceased to observe them.

The Soubbotniki, or Sabbatarians, are Seventh-day Adventists. They reject the Bible and all tradition; recognise no priesthood, nor Church; have no forms, ritual, nor prayer; and disbelieve in GOD and a future life. Every man is a revelation and an authority to himself. The Molt Chalniki are a small sect, not so numerous probably in Russia as in America.

These are but a few of the many sects which have been recently brought to light. The vitality and persistent energy of the sectarian spirit are remarkable. Sect begets sect. It is hopeless to expect to stifle the aspirations of a vigorous, quick-witted, eager race, and to arrive at the dead-level of unity and implicit obedience to one State Church. The fanaticism and extravagance are not admirable. They are morbid symptoms which indicate disease in the Church and in the body politic. The physicians who would heal those diseases do well to study the symptoms.

The outlook for Russia is not encouraging. The assassination of the last Tsar has undoubtedly put back the progress of reform, and yet there are hopeful signs.

Of these, the chief, it seems to me, is the literary activity known to the West mainly through the writings of Tolstoi, Turgueneff, Pushkin and Gogol. A national Russian literature is coming into being. The literature which the great Peter sought to create was foreign, imitative, and that, too, after bad French models. Traces of those models are abundant enough in the present writing, but imitation is no longer the main feature. Russian literature has become original and native, and consequently intensely interesting. It is easy to repeat the platitudes about realism, and to call Tolstoi a crank, but the work of these men, struggling under difficulties which the Anglo-Saxon race never knew, and now does not take the trouble to study, deserves a larger and more generous treatment. These writers are laying bare the very springs of the

nation's life. They are showing the Russian people to the Russian people and to the rest of the world, that they may be understood. How can they be aught else but realistic?

2. There is hope for Russia in her political agitation. Alexander's murder was a disastrous check to that agitation, but it has not crushed it. There is in this vigorous people an accumulated fund of energy which must eventually find expression. Freedom is recognised as a possibility. Loyal, gentle and long-suffering as Russians are, they cannot forever endure the incapable officialism, under which they are now helpless, and from whose tyranny they have no redress. The procession to Siberia cannot go on forever. It has been passing for genera tions, but it must have somewhere an end.

3. There is hope for Russia on the religious side. The existence of the sects demonstrates that the religious life of the nation is not a stagnant pool. Granted that the nobility are agnostics and the peasants fanatics, yet surely neither agnosticism nor fanaticism can be permanent creeds. Something better must come. People so capable of self-control must eventually obtain some form of self-government. A people so alert and keen intellectually, must at last be free to utter their thought; a people so religious, must sooner or later discover the simple truth and true simplicity of the Gospel of CHRIST. Russia is like a great, good-natured, over-grown boy, who is gradually coming to understand himself. He has allowed himself to be imposed upon, partly because he has been unconscious of his strength and partly because he did not know he was being imposed upon. Now he begins to feel his strength, and to see that he has been imposed upon politically, intellectually and religiously. The process of development will be of surpassing interest to the onlookers, of mingled hope, tears and blood to the actors.

REUBEN KIDNER.

The Study of Philosophy and the Art of Preaching.

PREACHING is a religious passion of the age. By multitudes of religious people, it is regarded as the ruling factor in Christian work. The Church may not hold any such view, but the age-spirit does. We may deny the propriety of exalting it so far above the well-ordered and devout worship of Almighty GOD; we may question whether its existing superabundance does not lead the multitude to substitute the hearing for the doing of the word; we may deplore the tendency of so vast a popular demand, like the swirl of a swollen flood, to draw in and sweep along on its turbulent surface, not only much that is worthless, but also much that is corrupting to the preacher's art; but the fact of the popular estimate and craving remains the same. We are in no position either to withstand or correct the evil. We have only to accept the fact and to apply ourselves as we best can, to the work of seeking out the duties and responsibilities which it imposes on us as ministers in the Church of GOD.

Preaching, as now commonly understood, is a widely different thing from what it was in the apostolic age. It is no longer a simple narrative of the facts of the evangel, and an informal plea for their acceptance as well-attested truths. It has universally assumed the form of set, logical discourse, rising in its more glowing and persuasive moods to the level of ambitious art or genuine oratory. To a certain extent the change is legitimate and in the line of proper development and popular adaptation. The ages themselves, like the men of each particular age, have their individual characteristics and demands. Hence, while the great substance of Divine truth, like the grand essentials of Faith, Order and Worship, remains the same, its methods of explanation and enforcement must

adapt themselves to the particular age itself. That is to say, while the matter of preaching is fixed and imperative, its method is, to a certain extent, variable and subject to specific adaptation.

It must be noted, however, that this liberty—or, if you will, necessity—of the age as to individual adaptation, exposes the preacher to serious dangers. What he is persuaded by the popular voice to accept as simply a just adaptation may be simply a depravation of his function and art. The age, instead of being content with the former, is disposed to demand what is really the latter. There is, for example, a popular rage for mere pulpit entertainments—oratoric, histrionic, pantomimic, one might almost say pyrotechnic—the tendency of which is to induce in the preacher a study of means and methods capable of producing striking popular effects. From this perversion of his high function the preacher may be saved either by a true solidity of judgment, superiority to the influence of popular applause, and an honest hatred of shams, or, perhaps, better than even these, his strength and safety may be found in that deep personal piety which keeps him constantly mindful of the solemnity of his mission as an ambassador of heaven to dying men. Unhappily, however, the worldliness of the age and its passion for novelties and excitements too often cloud the convictions of Christian men, secularise their aims and efforts, and impair their spiritual strength; so that in constant association with those worldly elements, and perhaps almost helpless dependence upon them, no small difficulty attends even the preacher's honest efforts to cultivate and evince these conserving and really commanding Christian traits. We say commanding characteristics; for if there be now one practical truth more clear and pressing than any other, it is, that what Christianity most needs as a means of carrying religious conviction to the minds of thinking men, is not so much a more powerful presentation of its Divine claims, as a more common exemplification of its supernatural purity and power in the hearts and lives of its professed adherents and chosen advocates.

But while this deep and pervading personal piety is thus important in the preacher, it must not be forgotten that even

that does not and cannot supply the place of true learning and a just knowledge of his sacred art. It is a power on the spiritual side of his art; but it is no substitute for the qualities, the training and the effort necessary on its intellectual side. Hence, while he must assiduously cultivate that personal piety as a Christian man, as a Christian preacher he must as faithfully strive to make himself master of both the matter and the method of the art of sacred oratory. He has no more right to be an unskilled workman in his high calling than to be an ungodly one. If there rests upon him the "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel," not less should he feel the force of this other, woe is me if mine be not a true and well appointed mode of preaching it!

The question now naturally arises: By what intellectual means or pursuits can the capable student in Divinity best make himself an able and efficient preacher? Without intending to disparage any of the other means and aids which belong to a proper scholastic course, we make bold here to put this foremost—a systematic study of philosophy in general, and in particular, a thorough mastery of its fundamental branch, psychology, or the science of the human mind. The latter, to which we must here chiefly refer, we hold to be so important in the making of the preacher, that it is not enough that it should form a sort of temporary fraction of his curriculum, nor that it be even more largely pursued merely as a theoretical science—the common bane of the study of psychology in the schools, than which there is nothing worse, except the equally common pursuit of that partial and one-sided thing "intellectual philosophy," or the philosophy of the human intellect as quite apart from that of the moral powers. What he needs is, that psychology, or the *whole science of the mind*, should be presented to him, both in its theory and its applications, and that it should in some way be made more distinctly present in every part of both his scholastic course and his after pursuits and personal training. As for the latter, it should most certainly, as far as is practicable, be a sort of philosophic warp, across the threads of which all those of his post-graduate or professional study and thought should continuously pass as an interwoven woof, alike, as under or over-shot, find-

ing in that its constant ground of consistency, strength and beauty.

To some this may seem to be a disparagement of theology as a science demanding the attention of the preacher. This brings us to the *first point* in the argument. We are the farthest possible from depreciating the study of theology. Its necessity to the clergyman, both as priest and preacher, is a foregone conclusion. It should be studied, not less, but more—more, even though it be at the expense of some other branch in the theological curriculum. Better, if need be, less *ecclesiastical* Greek or *no Hebrew*, and more theology—particularly more theology with philosophy running parallel. Theology is the preacher's master science. But it concerns chiefly the *matter* of his sermons. Not that he is to preach theology; but that of every proper sermon, some theological truth shall be either its core or its culmination. On the other hand, psychology specifically considered, has prime reference to the *method* of his preaching, or, taken with philosophy at large, to his intellectual vigor as a preacher. Knowledge of theology must be had for the sake of the truth; knowledge of psychology, for the sake of the laws under which that truth must be grasped and applied; knowledge of philosophy, for the sake of breadth and grip.

Again, these branches of learning supply the only proper scientific approach to theology. They bridge the chasm which yawns between it and physical science, psychology in particular, turning the central arch. Across that we pass into the outer court of that other science of all sciences, from which many a noble port opens into the grand interior. No true mastery of theology is possible without the aid of philosophy, just as no true ultimate in philosophy can be reached without theology. "Theology," says Morell, "as the very termination *ology* implies, occupies itself solely with the reflex and logical; and it is for this reason, we affirm, we seek for its basis in the depths of our psychology." Whether we accept the statement in its entirety or not, the passage is indicative of a necessary relation between the two sciences, which all sound thinkers are forced to acknowledge. As, then, such a connection exists, the lower science must be the natural introduction to the

higher. In other words, GOD always makes Himself known to us, as a mind or spirit—in Nature, mediately, through the illumined transparency of cause and effect; in Revelation, immediately, as by a light direct from the inner sanctuary of His glory, and brighter than ever shone from between the Cherubim above the Ark of the Covenant. How, then, can he who is ill-taught in the knowledge of his own spirit, ever expect to become well-versed in that Divine science which is for us only the godlike sublimation and end of the other. "To furnish the logical explanation of the manner," says Morell, "in which we rise from the idea of our own personality, to that of the Infinite Personality, is an affair of psychology;" to which, we venture to add, that to supply a comprehensive and masterful knowledge of psychology and a thoroughly founded and fortified stronghold in theology, is an affair of philosophy.

Still further,—as the foregoing reference to natural theology suggests,—since GOD reveals Himself in universal nature, or the *Kosmos*, as a constructive force, or creative cause, it follows that kosmology is so closely related to theology as to be in sort its philosophical complement. It is the physical, as psychology is the psychical, side of our complete science of theology. S. Paul [*Romans* 1, 20] recognises both the closeness and the value of this relation: "For the invisible things of Him, even His eternal power and God-head, since the creation are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, so that they are without excuse." This is simply an inspired statement of the truth that the intelligent study of the Kosmos is naturally fitted to lead the mind to a certain knowledge of GOD. Man may

Look through Nature up to Nature's GOD.

Kosmology, as a branch of philosophy, is, then, a sort of scientific ascending stair to natural theology, and through that to theology in its loftier dwelling place of revealed verity and power. It cannot, therefore, be without a direct practical as well as philosophic value to the theologian as the preacher. Certainly, it must be said, that were he less frequently unversed in its facts and principles, he would less often find himself at fault in dealing with the doubts of those who, dwelling

wholly upon physical science as if it were the sole philosophy, lose themselves in the mere mechanism of the material universe, and so come to the "lame and impotent conclusion" of finding in that universe no GOD but "Nature;" and in that "Nature" only that most dreary and desolate of all baseless conceits—a lawgiverless law.

But, here, there is revealed a further need, that the preacher, so far as he is to be a theologian, should be well versed in psychology. The phenomena of matter can only be known under subjection to the laws of mind. Now while it were a simple folly to deny the objective reality of things, it would be grossly unphilosophical to claim that we know things outside of their space-and-time qualities. It is one of the best results of modern thought that, as may be seen from Sir William Hamilton's masterly analysis, it has been shown that these space-and-time qualities are known only according to the mind's perception, representation, or transformation, of the sense affection. To know, therefore, anything of the Kosmos in its reality requires us to know something as really and philosophically of the sense perceptions, the logical judgments and the rational intuitions and ideals of mind. Under the laws of mind it was created, and in accordance with them it must be apprehended. This is, not only to say, that without psychology we have no true kosmology; but also, that as the grounds of natural theology are only to be found in kosmology, without psychology natural theology is practically a *terra indermi-nata*, if not even a *terra incognita*. Natural theology depends wholly upon the being and attributes of GOD as deducible from the law of cause and effect; but, as Morell justly says: "To establish the principle of causation, on which the whole *aposteriori* argument depends, is an affair of psychology." The relation of psychology to both these other sciences is vital, and its claim upon the preacher's attention is evident. And that all this be kept in mind, is the more important from the fact that from its too common oversight and neglect spring much of the current theological error and philosophical scepticism. "There is no error in doctrine," says Sir William Hamilton, "which will not be found to have emerged from some error in philosophy."

To all this, however, some may object, that it involves a practical disparagement of the Bible as a source of truth and a safeguard against error; that it is a putting of science before, if not above, Revelation. This brings us, in the next place, to urge that the proper study of the philosophy of mind is necessary to the preacher, in order that he may the more correctly understand, interpret and apply Holy Scripture. Whether the Bible shall teach truth or error is chiefly a question of interpretation (or perversion); and which it shall be depends largely upon the chances or the self-willed caprice of what is called "private judgment." The wild-ass license of the latter has caused Holy Scripture to be throughout our Western Christendom, not only the alleged home of conflicting Christian systems, but also the boasted stronghold of schemes of dangerous error. And what is worse, scepticism plants itself on this "confusion worse confounded," and impeaches the Divine verity and trustworthiness of the very oracles of GOD. So it comes to pass, that the main battle of the truth with error, instead of sweeping onward with Divine power and bowing the hearts of men in humble submission to the Gospel of the CHRIST, comes surging back upon our own lines of defence, and with no small clamor of supposed infidel triumph pours over the outworks and storms up to the very foot of the citadel itself. So much for "the Bible and the Bible only" in the hands of untaught men and conflicting isms as a safeguard against error. It does not and cannot dispense with the need of science and true learning, on the part of its authorised expositors and defenders.

As for the other point, that it is a sufficient source of truth —the revealed truth of GOD in Holy Scripture is altogether supplementary and specific. It is a revelation *beyond* human science of those facts and principles of the Divine being and action, which pertain to the system of grace as superadded to the system of nature. Priceless as are the elements of our knowledge of GOD and His ways with man, they are not and cannot be a substitute for that part of theological science which may be attained through the intimations of nature and the insight of reason. So, also, the Holy Scriptures set forth facts and principles pertaining to the human soul. But these,

too, are supplementary and specific, and concern the soul, not in the general way of science, but only as fallen from its original state of holiness, and needing to be redeemed and reinstated in the Divine favor by a system of grace. They do not and were not intended to be an independent and adequate scheme of mental science. The truth is, that here, as well as elsewhere, the Bible neither sets forth science nor sets itself against science. Instead of displacing or disfiguring any fair and well proportioned structure erected by true science, Revelation only lifts heavenward upon the topmost story where the earthly builder pauses in impotence and exhaustion, a Divine superstructure—a heaven-springing dome, which not only by its added truth and beauty perfects the entire elevation, but which also, through its lofty lantern, rich with tracery and resplendent color, illuminates and glorifies the vast interior below. Whatever, then, may be the specific value of Scripture truth, it is no part of its mission to discharge the preacher from his duty as a scholar, to either theology or psychology as sciences in themselves.

But this brings us back from the objections to the subject proper—the importance of the study of psychology in particular or philosophy in general to the preacher. Here, then, it must be noted, that Divine truth, as found in Holy Scripture, though given by Revelation, is still truth communicated by one mind to another. As such, it is a necessary part of its perfection, that it should not only make known in truth the mind and will of Him, "whom to know aright is eternal life," but also that in itself and in its mode of communication it should strictly adapt itself to the laws, no less than the needs of the human spirit. As well present that truth to men, in an unknown tongue, as under alien or uncomprehended laws of thought. Hence, though it were Divine, it had to be communicated through human language, and that, not merely that the language might be understood, but also that through such language it might be voiced in harmony with the human mind. Nay, more! It must even be communicated by men to man—the Divine CHRIST Himself preaching the Gospel only in fashion as a man—so that, though given by inspiration, it shall, by passing through a human mind as a medium, be, as

it were, polarised into harmony with the laws of human thought. Hence it is that in masterful accordance with GOD'S personal revelation of Himself in the Incarnate Word, His revealed truth, as recorded in Holy Scripture, and incarnate as it were in the body of human language, always carefully respects the proper functions of the mental faculties, their order of action and their reciprocal influence. It addresses itself to the sense; draws upon the logical understanding; appeals to the intuiting reason; inspires the imagination; thrills with its touch the rational and spiritual susceptibilities; and ranges itself in allied line of battle alongside the regenerate will in its conflict with the world, the flesh and the devil. But all this is simply *applied psychology*. While, then, certain sharp observers or native thinkers may, without special training in metaphysical science, grow into a fair knowledge and observance of this psychological law of revealed truth; it stands to reason that such training is absolutely necessary to the major and less gifted class, if they are to be preserved from crude notions in the study and wild work in the pulpit. Untrained genius in the preacher is dangerous; uneducated mediocrity is both dangerous and despicable.

In this connection it follows further that this sound knowledge of psychological law cannot but be of the first importance to the preacher as a practical religious teacher. True preaching is only the highest style of teaching—that is, a teaching which seeks, from the purest motives and with the most self-sacrificing endeavor, to inform, enrich and rule the minds of men with that Divine knowledge which is able to make them wise unto salvation. Such was the teaching, or preaching, of the LORD CHRIST. But he who would instruct, develop and discipline mind by his office work of teaching must proceed according to the laws of mind. He must do this in religious, no less than in scientific, instruction and training. GOD never meant that the rational soul of man, made in His own likeness, and by the knowledge of revealed truth, to be led back and lifted up to the lost purity and blessedness of that Divine image, should be less reasonable in its religious thought and action than in its worldly affairs; but only that it should be more completely and nobly so. To be truly religious is

only, as a reasonable soul, to draw nearer and more congenially to GOD, who is the Infinite and Absolute Reason. Hence, practical religion is simply the product of holy learning wedded to sanctified common sense. In his religious teaching, then, the preacher must proceed according to the philosophy of mind. The several faculties must be carefully distinguished; their order of relation and interaction must be consistently observed, and correct and well-considered language must be employed in treating of their various exercises, otherwise the gravest mistakes will be made with reference to religious duty, action and experience. For example, men should not be led to confound the constitutional with the rational and spiritual susceptibilities; reason with conscience, and the mere sense-intellect with the rational spirit. Out of such confusion it so commonly comes to pass that Christian men fall into such serious error as to the religious value of the more demonstrative feelings; the proper function and claim of conscience as the "Voice of GOD in the LORD" and even as to the exclusive hold of the rational spirit as above and apart from mere animal intelligence, upon immortality and the future life.

Still further, the preacher must observe the following rules, which are simply principles in applied psychology. Rudiments must precede advanced truths. Interest must be awakened, before the attention can be secured. The attention must be fixed, before there can be any effective lodgment of truth in the mind. The understanding must be enlightened and convinced, before the fountains of feeling can be opened. Feeling, whether rational or merely emotional, must be set like an incoming tide toward the desired end, before the volitions, lifted upon its bosom, can sweep onward into action. The change of the governing purpose of the will may be somewhat immediate; but the comprehension of the truth, settled good desires, and a thorough subjection of the subordinate purposes to the law of righteousness,—in other words, the formation of an intelligent, wise and holy character,—must be the product of growth and progress under sound instruction, Divinely imparted grace, and constant effort and self sacrifice. "Grow in grace, and in the knowledge of the LORD JESUS CHRIST." "First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the

ear." This is alike the law of the human mind and the Christian religion. Science and revelation are here at one. If, then, the preacher, amidst his multifarious cares and duties, under, perhaps, the pressure of hasty sermon writing, and especially in the heat and headlong flow of extempore discourse is to observe, without fault or faltering, the laws of mind, so as verily to teach and preach according to both reason and religion, he cannot but need to be so far practically versed in the philosophy which sets them forth, that its methods become a sort of second nature to his sermon-thinking.

Beyond this, there is another consideration of no small importance. While it is granted that the broader evangelical work of the preacher lies in a lower and more common field, it can hardly be denied that if the pulpit is to command the respect of the foremost minds,—as indeed it ought to do, seeing that those minds are themselves the product of Christian civilisation,—it needs to keep itself measurably abreast of the highest thought of the age. When the Church monopolised all learning, the Clergy were safe enough entrenched behind theology alone. But the times have changed; for while science and philosophy owe their later prescience and predominance to the inspiration and uplift of Christianity, yet they owe their specific advancements to the secular rather than the religious mind. Unfortunately, also, the too general effect of these advances both from their secular predominance and their intrinsic grandeur, has been to array a self-inflated "Modern thought" against Revelation, as though it were *contra rationem*, and so inimical to all science. Hence, from mutual jealousy and misapprehension, the theologian who is no scientist and the scientist who is still less a theologian, have come to regard each other as little less than necessary antagonists. But any such antagonism, any estrangement, in fact, is to be deprecated; for physical science is but the systematic interpretation of material nature as the mechanical manifestation of GOD, and metaphysics, as the science of the ultimate facts and principles of being and thought, is man's philosophical approach to GOD as manifested in the Reason. The great thinkers, then, on either hand, even if they do not distinctly work together,—which were far better,—should at least respect

each other. Especially should the theologian, theoretical or practical, thinker or preacher, as dealing with the Divine science, the *scientia scientiarum*, be able to command the respect of the philosopher. But to do this, he needs to be in some sort a philosopher himself, not indeed, except where there is a native fitness for it, an adept in metaphysics, but at least as historically acquainted with modern philosophy and its great masters, and able to speak intelligently of their leading researches and speculations. He must be able to say, substantially, your science is not theology, your philosophy is not the Gospel; yet I am not ignorant of them; I am not without a proper interest in them; I have a profound respect for the genius and devotion which have so grandly developed them; and I am ready as a thinker to pour becoming libations before their shrine. When he can do this, he may reasonably turn the tables and say, come now with me, and while you do not cease to be the scientist or the philosopher, recognise with corresponding respect this higher science and philosophy of mine, both as rational and revealed, and with me offer reverent incense on its higher and holier altar, the altar of the living and true GOD, who is alike the author of your science as He is the soul and sum of mine. Such, then, seems to me, to be the economic value of the study of philosophy to the preacher; that without it he cannot be expected to overcome the pride of secular learning; to lay open the fallacies of modern thought; to refute the errors and repel the attacks of the philosophical sceptic; and so to save the finer intellects from their own destructive toils, and to win them to the love and service of GOD in a true religion.

And to do such a work for this class we take to be no alien, unwise, or unprofitable aim on the part of the true preacher. True, they may not be distinctly of the poor, to whom the Gospel is dominantly to be preached as opening to them a heavenly compensation for their lack of the world's favors or advantages. Nor, are they on the other hand commonly among the mighty and noble through worldly wealth, rank or power, of whom, because of their selfish pride, not many are called. But they are those whose talent and learning justly give them a most potent influence over the mind of the age,

and who only need that their gifts and attainments should be hallowed and directed by the wisdom which is from above, to become, next to the sacred ministry, a foremost agency for the blessing of mankind.

There remains, however, another consideration, which, while less specifically economic in its bearing on the preacher's work, is not less important in its proper way. Like any professional worker who is a verity and a power, the preacher must be in some living and effective sense a *thinker*. It is not enough that he be merely a fluent talker or a fancy rhetorician. Relegate the religious word-mill and posy-pot to the lecture platform, where men talk for praise and pay. It is not enough for him to be a mere pulpit scholar—a forager among sermon-plans, homiletic magazines and volumes of discourses. Why should the noblest field for true oratory be only occupied by men of manifold professional crutches and borrowed intellectual turn-outs? Nor is it even enough for the preacher to be simply the scholar—the man of mere acquired learning. Of sound learning, re-digested, individualised, thoroughly alive with his own robust and fervid thinking, he cannot have too much. But unless it is thus re-wrought, and into his own personality inwrought, his dependence on it will only produce a preacher of either the dry-as-dust, the *potpourri*, or the plagiarist sort. Even its best use leads more to synthesis than analysis in sermonising. The synthetic method has, it is true, its use in the treatment of subjects of a purely narrative and descriptive character, and is for certain minds with little power beyond that of reading and compilation, the only method practicable. The true preacher, however, should possess or develop more of the penetration and power which spring from the practice of analysis. He should be able to detect, digest, develop and drive home the more thoughtful themes with genuine mastery. Especially is this true of him if he is to attain any true success in that highest, as well as most adventurous, style of sacred oratory—extempore preaching. In such discourse, command of language is ease, but command of thought is power; and command of thought depends more upon masterful analysis than on all things else beside. Analysis is our intellectual surgery which, instead of leaving us content with

merely hacking at our themes, as with some butcher's cleaver, to the sole end of finding little, marring more, and confusing all, enables us to dissect them to their very heart, with keen dividing blade and subtle revealing skill and demonstration. In other words, it empowers us to lay open all their inner truth to the clearer gaze of consciousness; to arrange their topics in fine and forcible order; and thus to get their whole effective material in hand for ready and conclusive presentation. Without this power in easy and complete command, no man can "think upon his feet," and he who cannot think to the purpose on his feet may wisely betake himself to the pen, the ink-horn and the study chair.

But the preacher can become no such analyst or thinker without some express, severe and sustained intellectual discipline. Such discipline can only be attained through the habitual practice of systematic and exhaustive thinking. The field to which such thought is native, and in which it is most accessible and abundant, is beyond doubt that of metaphysics. Physical science is vastly instructive, abounds in sensible analysis, and opens no small room for vigorous thinking. It has its claims upon the preacher who would be well-informed and apt in dealing with nature and the common things of life. But as an intellectual gymnastic, its pursuit is not well up to the preacher's need. Its method is too discursive; it deals too much with things in concrete; it leans too generally on sense helps, and does not so much draw the thinker into the presence of the one, self-centered, absolute mind which conceived and created all things; but rather leaves him to stop short, and either lose or self-imprison himself in the mere mechanism of a blind Nature.

Besides this, physical science is to be learned rather than thought; whereas psychology is nowhere, if it be not thought rather than merely learned. Books may be guides, help, stimulants, but whatever is gained from them must be verified in the learner's own mental experience. He is not merely to read about the mental faculties; he must experimentally exercise them; he must not merely follow a description of mental processes; he must re-institute them severally in his own thinking. His field of experiment lies within his own self-con-

sciousness; he must, as it were, put his own mind into the crucible of introspection, and subject it to a rigorous analysis. Only in this way can he rise above the common weakness and delusion of merely memorising and repeating parrot-like what is laid down in the text-books, and calling it the study of mental science. Only in this way can he avoid robbing the study of its grand disciplinary power, or escape making it a science of mind with no living mind in it—"Hamlet with Hamlet left out." Only in this way is it possible for him to do justice to both the science and himself, and to gain from both a true, living, and effective knowledge of mind.

Pursued in this personal applied way the science will readily be seen to be as severe in its discipline as it is economic in its applications. We have only to think what a subtle entity the mind is; how mysterious is its connection with the body and the outward world; how diverse are its phases under its various conditions, individual and accidental; especially how grave are the infirmities and self-delusions to which it has been subjected by sin—evils which render it exceedingly difficult to determine its normal condition; how hard it is to steer apart from those mere sense notions of spirit which are the common bondage of both the unlearned and the unwisely learned, and from those materialising forms of speech which are the special stumbling block of English philosophy; and perhaps not the least of all, how many helps are lost and hindrances maintained by the reluctance with which, schooled as we have been in that philosophy, we relinquish our prejudices against German thought and German effort to secure a better nomenclature; we have only to take all this into consideration, and it will be past doubt, that in psychology alone, there is abundant opportunity for a most athletic discipline of the preacher as a thinker.

It is true, that this disciplinary power may seem to be more justly credited to philosophy as a whole. But the three grand themes of philosophy are the *world*, the *soul* and *God*. Of these, the soul, the theme in psychology, is eminently central and mediate. Its philosophy reaches each way, connecting with, if not overlapping, the philosophy of the others. The truths of the *Kosmos* and of the *Theos* are both addressed to the mind of men, and can be properly apprehended only under

the laws of mind. Hence, for the thinker to know himself in the light of a sound philosophy, is to have already become advanced in the knowing of both the world-mechanism and its Divine Author; is to have become so far, through psychology, versed in kosmology and theology. The central knowledge and discipline to be gained from the study of philosophy, may, then, with good reason, be regarded as largely psychological.

To put the matter in a specific form the master-faculty in the human mind for knowing is the Reason. To it as intuitively apprehending all first principles, it belongs to give breadth, elevation and certainty to the understanding; to inspire the imagination with loftier ideals, and to inform and verify the conscience. The Reason, there underlies and conditions all science, art and morality. Hence, the grand struggle of modern philosophy has been to develop and establish the true doctrine of the Reason. It is not too much to say that this effort reached its first great and commanding level, though not its last and best results, under the acute investigations and tireless analyses of that master-thinker, Emmanuel Kant. Out of this higher philosophy of the Reason has grown, for the most part, the modern philosophy of the world, the soul and GOD. That is to say, that as sciences, kosmology, psychology, ontology, and at least *natural* theology, are constructed and comprehended only in the light of Reason. Hence, rational psychology, or the philosophy of the Reason, is the very core and crust, and no small part of the contents of all philosophy. Whatever, then, is true of philosophy as an intellectual discipline or gymnastic, is substantially due to its relations to psychology. The two may therefore, under this head, be treated as practically identical.

Of the invigorating and disciplinary power of philosophy as a whole, there is no room for doubt. Leading up as it does from matter in the mere *Kosmos* to mind in even the *Theos*, its reach is gigantic. Its interior work, through all its stages, is correspondingly constant and exacting. In short, nowhere is there demanded of the thinker such profound abstraction and concentration in thought; such exactness in terms and definitions, in analyses and classification; such watchfulness as to the use of figures and analogies—those fair deceivers in meta-

physics, figures that will lie and analogies that will run on all fours—such rigorous scrutiny of all logical processes and supposed conclusions, and jealous guarding of oneself against mere special pleading in behalf of favorite hypotheses. All this required of the philosopher is no less necessary in the student in pursuit of his philosophy, and if faithfully observed supplies both alike with no end of intellectual toil and trial, not more invaluable for the use of discovery than of discipline; nay, more certainly to be counted upon as a means of developing power than of discovering the final truth. Indeed, the history of philosophy is largely the history of the subtle speculation; the tireless thought, the intellectual life-struggle of the world's profoundest minds, for whom metaphysics was a passion and delight; and not alone for its wealth and wonder of truth, but also for its exciting strain as a mental task-work and discipline. "It was the *gymnastic* of philosophy," says Masson, speaking of Sir William Hamilton; "its power to energise and elevate the mind in the pursuit of truth, more than any one supposed system of truth, whether his own or another's that he himself cared for." [Page 217, *Recent British Philosophy.*] Nor does the history of the conflicts and alternating victories and defeats of antagonist schools—Nihilists, Materialists, Natural Realists, Constructive Idealists, Pure Idealists, Absolute Identityists and others—the alternating erection and overthrow of one philosophical scheme after another; and the failure of some of the most gifted thinkers, while proposing to construct a scheme of universal science, to find a place in it for the true knowledge of GOD—even these painful accidents of philosophical speculation and achievement, in themselves so unpromising as to true gains in the end, do not change the value of the study as an intellectual gymnastic. On the contrary, as in every other important undertaking of the great mind, it is only enhanced in interest and value by its difficulties and disasters. Indeed, such is the relation of difficulty to development and discipline, that we may well doubt whether it will ever in this life be given to man to discover and establish what some have fondly termed the "Final Philosophy;" whether in fact it is not the purpose of the One Absolute Mind, that the science shall to the end of time retain such un-

explored reaches and unsounded depths, as shall still draw upon the resources and task the efforts of the human intellect, and so always enable it to serve the grand end of educating the mind into the more perfect mastery of itself.

But in all this let it be kept constantly in mind, that it is on the use of the study as an intellectual gymnastic, that the stress is laid. It is not the design that the preacher should seek in the science a staple for his sermons; nor is it for once supposed that he will so far forget either its function or his office, as to lapse into the folly of ostentatiously airing his philosophy in the pulpit. For the sake of keeping his intellectual powers at their best for the ready and masterful handling of his proper themes, attacking them from the vantage ground of attested strength, as Cæsar's legions fell upon the the enemy, *E loco superiore*, he may wisely avail himself of this philosophical wrestling with the mightiest athletes in the arena of metaphysical thought. But he must never forget that while philosophy, or psychology as its master element, may sit a queen among the sciences, in the statelier presence of the revealed truth of GOD as enthroned in the Gospel of the Incarnation, she stands in humble waiting as an obedient and loving servitor. Philosophy may help bear up the Ark of GOD by its golden staves—Reason and Revelation—but it can neither inscribe the tables of the covenant nor fill the pot of manna within it; certainly it can never light up the living glory of the Shekina between its overshadowing Cherubim. All honor to these or others of like greatness, for their enlargement of the bounds of human knowledge! Nevertheless, ours is not the gospel of Aristotle or Aquinas, Kant or Coleridge, Hegel or Hamilton, but simply and solely the Gospel of the CHRIST. But though it be the Gospel of the CHRIST, it must be remembered that it is no more the Gospel of intellectual torpor, dullness, emptiness or impotence, than of spiritual coldness, insincerity and indevotion. It is the Gospel of both light and life—light and life both intellectual and spiritual. In both these directions it demands intelligence, activity, power and devotion; and of these, its vital qualities, it is not too much to say that the preacher, as its chosen expounder, should be a living example known and read of all men.

As addressing Churchmen, it is, perhaps, necessary to interpose at this point a sort of caveat against a possible misconception. Let the Priest beware of assuming that in this argument there has been any necessary disparagement of the Service in the interest of the sermon. Two partial, and so far as partial, false views prevail in Christian congregations. On the one hand, where there has been for generations a grievous lack of a just Liturgical service, the sermon having no adequate check or counter-poise, has not only usurped the chief place, but has become the "be all and end all" of the religious meeting. On the other hand, as if to match stupidity by perversity, the very possession of a noble Liturgy and correspondingly admirable Daily Offices, has served as an excuse for disparaging and well-nigh destroying the sermon which should, as the complement of the service, have been kept on a fair level with that in dignity and power. Our dealing with the Word of GOD should, in those respects, be able to stand erect and unabashed alongside of our dealing with the worship of GOD. And the principle is not only intrinsically right, it is also an economic necessity. The age is one of intense and wonderfully diversified intellectual activity. All around us is a perfect affluence of speech-making, lecturing and preaching. We are surrounded by this species of intellectual effort. It is an age-characteristic. We cannot alter it. We might as well try to sweep back the Atlantic with Mrs. Partington's broom. But we can utilise it. We can do this, also, without lapsing into either the errors in matter or excesses in manner, or the faults, frivolities and follies of the popular pulpit pyrotechnist and acrobat. We must do it if the Church, the venerable, the authoritative, the Divine, is, in accordance with her high claims and prerogatives, to keep abreast of the age, and to be the leader and commander of its more thoughtful and potential classes. Hence, it will not do to undervalue or disparage preaching, or intellectual power in the Preacher, or to allow the sermon to be smothered by Archbishop Grindall's high-piled triple service; trilled into the ague by the vocal antics of the four beasts before the chancel; or squeezed out of all but its last breath by the attenuating fifteen-minuted cast-iron rim and plunger. Our wants and hindrances in the seminary course and the parish life are

formidable. But the goal is grand, the duty is imperative, and, it is to be hoped, our resolution equal to both. What these demand of us as Priests and Preachers are an equally just and inspiring rendering of the service and delivering of GOD'S message in the sermon.

FREDERICK S. JEWELL.

The Parables,

According to S. Matthew.

The Parables of the Lord Jesus according to S. Matthew. Arranged, Compared and Illustrated by THOMAS RICHEY, S. T. D., S. Marks-in-the-Bowerie. Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary. New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co. 1888.

THE Parables of our Blessed LORD are so peculiar a feature of His teaching, and so beautiful, so varied, and so touching in their tenderness and depth, as well as so marvellous in their strength and searching in their spiritual power, that they have been favorite subjects for preachers and commentators in all ages. Works devoted to them alone are so numerous as to form a great library in themselves. And so inexhaustible are their riches of spiritual truth that even now every new consideration of them by an honest and earnest mind brings forward some freshness of meaning unperceived before.

Dr. Richey's work is not a hasty compilation, merely made up of other men's thoughts and sayings. It is full of quotations from beginning to end, showing that, in the profound study of many years, he has swept over the whole field—patristic, mediæval and modern—and, like an industrious bee, has sucked honey from every flower in every field, and rejoices in giving due credit to every flower which has yielded him any drop of sweetness. And yet his own peculiarity of treatment pervades the whole book from beginning to end. To this peculiarity we would call special attention, ignoring the more general aspects of parabolic teaching, its reasons, its modes of operation and its effects, all of which are to be found more or less clearly in other works.

Dr. Richey gives us a whole volume on the Parables "*according to S. Matthew.*" Why is this? Where are the other

Evangelists? What has become of the elaborate attempts to *harmonise* those Parables which appear (or seem to appear) in more than one Evangelist, and in ostensibly different connections? For our part, we have often wondered at the absoluteness with which some men have *taken for granted* that our LORD *never* spoke any parable more than once, and in one particular place, with one particular combination of circumstances. When we look at the wonderful condensation of more than *three years'* unintermitted teaching into so few pages as we find in the Gospels, and the plain and reiterated declaration that the teachings and parables and miracles far transcended in quantity and number the few that are recorded, what is more natural than that one Evangelist should record a sermon, or parable, or miracle in *one connection*, while another recorded a similar (but not identical) thing in *another connection*, and *both* equally accurate? But let Dr. Richey tell us, in his own words, the leading principle—the *great originality*—of his admirable work:

> The failure, hitherto, to secure anything like an exact numbering and scientific arrangement of our LORD'S parables is one of the most noteworthy lapses in the history of New Testament interpretation. And no wonder, when we consider the utterly vicious nature of the methods pursued. Any arrangement or numbering of the parables, based upon the notion of a harmonising of the Gospels, must inevitably result in failure. It is now needless to say that the Four Gospels are as diverse, one from another, as the four rivers which flowed out of the Garden of Eden, or the four living creatures in Ezekiel's vision. What possible proportion is there between the members of an eagle, an ox, a lion and a man? They are, indeed, homologues one of another, and are all built up on the model of a typical vertebrate skeleton; but beyond this they have no likeness to each other. It may, without hesitation, be affirmed, then, that an indiscriminate treatment of our LORD'S Parables, without regard either to the particular Evangelist in which they are to be found, or to the order in which they are presented, is a method which is as unscientific in its origin as it has proved hitherto unsatisfactory in its results. We cannot, without serious loss, both in the way of numbers and the ignoring of characteristic traits, lump together in one indiscriminate mass the parables of S. Matthew, S. Mark and S. Luke. They are as diverse, one from another, as the Gospels

in which they stand. S. Matthew wrote for the Hebrews, and his parables have upon them a theocratic stamp. S. Luke wrote for the Gentiles, and his parables have more of a human and universal character. The very same parable, it will be found, upon careful examination, is capable of an altogether different interpretation, according as it is applied to the Gentile in the state of nature, or to the Jew in covenant relation with GOD. The 'stray sheep' of S. Matthew becomes a 'lost sheep' in S. Luke, for the reason that the Jew is within the fold, while the Gentile stands without. Judgment, like an undertone, prevails in S. Matthew; mercy and forgiveness are characteristic of S. Luke. The cardinal defect in the attempts at classification of the parables, on the part of expositors generally, is that they are based upon some artificial principle of arrangement, arising out of the doctrinal prepossessions of the author, and are not the result of the following up of the order of the Gospel narrative itself. The consequence has been the confounding of the parables of S. Matthew and S. Luke, and the serious loss of all the advantages of the cross-lights which the several Evangelists furnish by their diverse methods of treatment. The plan of taking the parables as they stand in the evangelical narrative itself, and treating each Gospel by itself, would seem to be the only way of arriving at a satisfactory result.

This sets forth, with perfect clearness, the *leading principle* which distinguishes Dr. Richey's work from that of all previous writers on the Parables. Another aspect of his work, in which he is not so entirely original, but to which he has given special attention, he speaks of as follows:

Jebb, in his *Sacred Literature*, and Archbishop Trench, in his *Studies in the Gospels*, direct attention to the way in which the parabolic sayings of the earlier ministry run almost invariably in pairs, and are so arranged that the second and supplementary illustration presents the subject under treatment in a new light, and serves the purpose of bringing to view some deeper aspect of the truth. It would be natural to expect that if the supplementing of one illustration by another was characteristic of our LORD'S earlier parabolic teaching, the same care would be taken to guard against partial and one-sided views of truth when He began to teach regularly by parables. Nor are we disappointed in looking for a recurrence of this notable feature of our LORD'S teaching. Meyer (without attaching any very special importance to the matter) observes that the word παραβολή, when technically applied, is hardly ever to be found in the singular, but almost

invariably in the plural, in connection with a series or cycle of parables, forming, as it were, a complete discourse. Accordingly, we find that the parables in the Synoptic Evangelists lie (for the most part) in groups, and are arranged in such a way as to furnish us with a system of connected teaching on the cardinal mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. It appears upon examination that the parables of S. Matthew fall into *four* groups, and are so arranged that, in each series, a separate and distinct subject is illustrated. S. Mark and S. Luke also have their groups of parables; not, however, to the same extent as S. Matthew. It is needless to say, in connection with such a method of arrangement, how all-important it is to familiarise ourselves with the principle of grouping and arrangement, wherever it occurs, if we would arrive at any definite understanding of the subject under consideration in all its parts and details. We are dealing, as it were, with a series of allegorical pictures. The displacing of any one member of the series must of necessity have a fatal result. If it be true, that it is the method of our LORD's teaching, for the most part, first to present one aspect of His Kingdom in one parable or picture, and then to supplement it by bringing to light another and different view of the subject in a twin picture, and so on in regular succession in a series of three, four, or even seven pictures; then, to neglect the order of arrangement, or to miss the exact point at which the subject is taken up anew in the second or supplementary parable, must inevitably result in our mixing and mingling things which ought to be kept separate, and to come short, at last, of our being able to grasp in order and detail the significance of the whole. Newland, in his *Postils*, observes that many of our LORD's parables are arranged in sequences, with a view that wherever there is any opening for misapprehension in one parable, the deficiency may be supplied and the misapprehension removed in the parable that follows after. 'It is very possible,' the same writer adds, 'for us to do ourselves serious injury by taking as a detached and complete lesson that which our LORD meant merely as a part of one!' Stier, in his *Words of the* LORD JESUS, and Arnot, *On the Parables of our* LORD, have given special attention to the matter of grouping and arrangement. Edersheim, in his *Life of Christ*, appreciates the value of following up the connection and progress of our LORD's teaching by parables, but excuses himself from working it out in detail as beyond his task. We have made, as it will be seen, the matter of grouping and arrangement a cardinal feature of our own interpretation, and with wonderful results.

One more quotation we must make, as bearing on the general character of this charming volume. It refers to a very

important principle of interpretation, in regard to which commentators have been very much divided—

It was, we may believe, not without design that our LORD Himself has left us an example of the true method of interpreting His parables. It is often said that we are not to look for a hidden meaning in every detail of the parable; but how are we to reconcile such a statement with the careful working out of the details of the parable of the Sower, by our LORD Himself? * * * As in a picture, there are prominent features and subordinate accessories, so in the parable there are things of greater and of less importance. Notwithstanding, we must endorse the strong affirmation of Goebel, that, '*strictly understood, there is no mere by-play and empty ornament in the parables of* JESUS.' It is, in our judgment, little short of blasphemy to entertain 'the opinion that JESUS wove particular ingredients into His parables which serve no purpose, or no other purpose than to give the narrative a more pleasing form.' 'On the contrary, it must be presupposed that all particulars in a parable, in so far as they are not meant to find a special counterpart in the interpretation, have, nevertheless, some important position of their own in the connection of the whole, and thus serve the end of the whole, either helping by delineation in detail to picture a truth vividly, or fitting as essential ingredients into the systematic structure of the narrative. The expositor must, therefore, never say this or that particular lies outside the compass of the intended comparison, and, therefore, cannot be explained, without at the same time indicating what purpose it serves in its place, in the connection of the whole.' The rule thus laid down by Goebel is admirably stated, and we have made it our aim to adhere to it in every case in our treatment of the parables.

The general principles of Dr. Richey's work being thus clearly stated, let us now look and see what he has done with them in the body of the work before us.

First of all, he takes all the parables which appear in *S. Matthew's* Gospel, just in the order in which they stand in that Gospel, and divides them into four groups.

The first group consists of the *seven* parables given in Chapter XIII. These Dr. Richey entitles "The Seven Fundamental Parables," addressed partly to the multitude and partly to the Disciples.

The second group consists of *three* parables, which he en-

titles "Parables of Free Grace," and these are addressed to the Apostles as administrators of the Kingdom.

The third group also consists of *three* parables, which he distinguishes as "Apologetic Parables." They are addressed to the Chief Priests and Elders.

The fourth and last group contains *four* parables, addressed to the Apostles on the Last Things, and these are styled "Eschatological Parables." A few words concerning each of these in their order.

The first group gives us an epitome of the whole—from the sowing of the seed to the final judgment. As Dr. Richey says: "They are a complete whole in themselves. They hold a fundamental place in our LORD'S teaching. They are so arranged as to give us a general outline or sketch of the kingdom which CHRIST came to establish in the world, from its first beginning, through the varied stages of its development and growth, to its ultimate consummation and close." And he continues still further to show a significant subdivision in the Seven. He says;

> Nor is it without significance that *four* of the seven parables were addressed to the multitude upon the shore, while *three* were spoken privately to the disciples in the house. Four is the number of the world, and gives its impress to the parables which have to do with the universal relations of the kingdom; three is the number of the Sacred Name, into which the disciples at their entering into the kingdom were baptised and sealed unto the life everlasting.

The first four parables are addressed to the multitude on the shore, and set forth the beginning and growth of the kingdom of heaven in the world: "In the Sower who has gone forth to sow, we have it declared that the first great step has been taken in the evangelical dispensation, through the preaching of the Word up and down the length and breadth of Judea. And the *fact* is not only declared, but the *result* is also intimated. In three cases out of four the result has been a failure." In this connection it may be well to suggest that this small proportion of success does not necessarily apply to the preaching of the Gospel throughout the whole world and in all ages. The threefold failure to the one success, the many called and the few chosen, do certainly apply to the Jews of

that age: they do not as certainly apply to all mankind. Whenever the calling of the Gentiles is distinctly alluded to, we find that the general Jewish rejection is counterbalanced by a Gentile reception of the Gospel apparently equally general. The Kingdom of CHRIST is to be a spiritual kingdom. Therefore "it is a kingdom which is to be founded, not upon force by an outward display of power, but upon moral suasion. The instrument of propagation is not to be the sword, but the Word. As seed needs soil in which to strike root and grow, and the return in every case will depend upon the nature of the ground, so the word preached, being of the nature of a purely spiritual agency, is dependent on the condition of heart of those to whom the preaching comes, and must be just as widely different as the actual condition of heart in the hearers. Not by the authority of law, not by some mighty display of power, but by germinal truths taking root in the minds of men and unfolding themselves into new dispositions and affections, into a new life with its corresponding fruits, is the kingdom of heaven to be established."

One would naturally take for granted, from this parable *alone*, that none should really belong to the kingdom but those who bore good fruit—either thirty, or sixty, or an hundred fold. And this natural conclusion has lain at the root of nearly all the chief sects and schisms that have sprung up out of Christianity. Men form an ideal of what they consider "true religion," and *assume* that nobody is rightly in the Church who does not come up to that ideal. But the second of the four Parables comes in to correct this error, and shows us that the Tares must be found growing among the Wheat. So there is a Judas Iscariot among the very Twelve. There is an Ananias and Sapphira among the earliest converts at Jerusalem, and a Simon Magus among those at Samaria. And Alexander the coppersmith, and Demas, and Hymenæus and Philetus, are blacklisted by S. Paul; and Diotrephes, and "Jezebel," and the Nicolaitans by S. John; and doubtless there were many others. Dr. Richey says: "It will be seen that the second parable is the complement and counterpart of the first. The action of the one (so to speak) follows close upon the action of the other. In both, *the spiritual conception of the kingdom, with its limita-*

tions and seeming failures, is set over against the worldly and carnal Jewish notion of outward and material conquest."

The third parable—that of the mustard-seed—shows the *organic* growth of the kingdom as *one*—not a mere aggregation of single plants, each of which is complete in itself, and as one organic power it stretches its branches throughout the world, and the birds of the air build their nests and lodge in the branches thereof. This is a magnificent indication of the strength of the Christian foundations upon which the structure of our entire modern civilisation rests.

The *fourth* parable—the central one of the seven—is entirely distinct from all the rest, in that it introduces a "woman," whereas all the rest mention men only. It is a *pivotal* parable; and those that come after it are strikingly different from those that go before. Those that go before illustrate the outward growth and increasing power of the Kingdom. Those that come after—the last three—refer to internal spiritual strength and devotion, ending with the great Judgment. This pivotal parable includes *both* these elements. The *three* measures of meal Dr. Richey makes to mean those multitudes gathered in from the Hebrew, the Greek and the Latin nationalities, which gives us the *outward*, while the hidden leaven silently and secretly permeating them all, represents the *inward* change made in the entire social tone of the nations by the Gospel, as spread abroad among them through the Church.

The next three parables of this group differ from the first four, in the fact that they were not spoken to the multitude without, but privately to the disciples in the house.

The first of these three—the finding of the treasure hid in the field—brings out some strong points in regard to the ministry and the preparation for it. Dr. Richey says, very beautifully:

> One of the greatest puzzles in connection with the parable is the *hiding* of the treasure after it has been found. It cannot be accidental, for it is said with marked emphasis, 'the which, when a man hath found, he hideth.' It seems not only contrary to what we should naturally have expected, but it would appear to be in direct opposition to the injunction which JESUS elsewhere lays upon His disciples, that they are to let their 'light shine before men.' The difficulty disappears when

we call to mind that it is the economy of the Spirit we are here dealing with, and the relation which the individual bears *subjectively* to that economy in the personal appropriation of the things which have become his by being made a member of the Kingdom. The thing which JESUS here hints at is that against which He has already warned His disciples, when He told them that they must not be as the Pharisees, who did their works to be seen of men. The renunciation which JESUS requires of His disciples must be a personal act, the virtue of which consists in being known only to GOD. The personal religious life, as distinguished from the corporate life of the believer, is a life hid with CHRIST in GOD. It shrinks from exposure to the gaze of the world to the extent that it is personal, and deep, and real. The mystery with which we are dealing is not confined to the finding of the heavenly treasure, but has its analogy in other experiences of the soul's life. The first halcyon days of married life are spent in concealment. And why? Because the joy is one in which the world, as such, has no share. The bridegroom retires with the bride, that in seclusion they may cement the bond which is to last forever. We have here the secret of the withdrawal of the Church into the wilderness. It was, as the prophet tells us, a time of espousal before entering upon the full possession of the purchased inheritance. It is for the same reason that S. Paul prepared himself for the work of the ministry by retiring for three years into Arabia. In later times, again, we find S. Basil, and his friend Gregory, preparing themselves for their future work, by withdrawing from the world and hiding themselves for a time in the desert. The same rule holds good now. It is necessary that the candidate for the sacred ministry be inwardly moved by the HOLY GHOST to undertake the work. He must first find the treasure. But having found it, he is not justified in rushing out at once to proclaim the discovery to the world. Before entering upon the practical duties of his calling, he must prepare himself by retiring for a time from the world. The treasure, once found, must be kept concealed; and it must be held in reserve, for the reason that it is not to be had for the finding merely, but is to be secured by the act of self-surrender, which requires all the soul's collected powers to prepare for and consummate.

There is much, too, in the comments upon the entire self-surrender (implied in the words, "for joy thereof goeth and selleth all that he hath, and buyeth that field,") which we would like to quote in full, but must be content with one specimen:

As in the economy of the Sun the seed needs soil, so in the economy

of the Spirit there is something of the nature of a mysterious commerce between earth and sky, by virtue of which GOD imparts the treasures of His heavenly grace exactly according to the measure of the readiness of His people to sacrifice at all times their own interests to the interests of His Church and Kingdom. It will be seen, then, what is meant by the *buying* which enters into the imagery of both the treasure and the merchantman. We are dealing with that mystery of man's moral nature which forms, as we have seen, such an essential element of these fundamental parables. GOD does not operate in grace as He does in nature, or as He did under the law. He bestows His grace, but it does not operate according to the law of cause and effect. His grace is operative, not as power, but through the attraction of love, by virtue of which the will surrenders itself, and cements the love which draws it by mutual returns of love and self-surrender. Hence it is that we are told to 'buy wine and milk, without money and without price;' hence it is, again, that we are bidden 'buy' the robe, which is the gift of GOD to us in His own dear Son. And hence, again, the foolish virgins are commanded to 'buy' oil for themselves after their lamps had gone out.

The next parable, that of the merchantman seeking goodly pearls, is interpreted as deepening and intensifying the same thought. "The parables of the treasure and the pearl-dealer, then, have to do with the same great subject—the renunciation required of those who will undertake the work of the ministry. They do not represent different *classes*, but different *stages* of renunciation. There is required, first of all, as a condition of *entrance* upon the work of the ministry, the renunciation of all ordinary secular pursuits; and there is required further, as experience goes on and develops, the renunciation of every other system of opinion and belief, however good and excellent they may be in themselves. There is one, and one only Name whereby we can be saved—the Name of CHRIST JESUS." *He* is the Pearl of great price * * * "CHRIST claims moral surrender, and obedience to *Himself* as a *person*, which no other religious teacher does; and Christianity ranks above all forms of natural religion, inasmuch as it bestows through sacramental agencies the principle of a *new life*, of which CHRIST, as God-man, is the fountain and the source."

The parable of the great Draw-net closes this group. This is the great net of the Church, cast into "the broad sea of the

world, and gathering or drawing together some out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation—fish of every kind." "The expectation of the nation and people of the Jews was, that the separation of all those who were unworthy of the fellowship of the kingdom would be the *first* task undertaken by the coming Messiah, and that *afterward* He would proceed to erect the kingdom with those who were found true." But it is the opposite of this that our LORD sets before us here: "If the kingdom is not to be founded through an *outward* act of Divine power of sure effect, but only through a spiritual ministry whose success depended upon the receptivity of men, and therefore could only be obtained through gradual development, it is self-evident that it would not do to begin with a division between the worthy and unworthy—that much labor must be bestowed in preparing for the consummation of salvation, and that the Messianic judgment must necessarily be delayed until the development of the kingdom of GOD was completed.

The other parts of this parable are all beautifully interpreted, and the distinction between the separation of the tares and the wheat, and the final separation of the good and the bad fishes, is delicately but clearly drawn.

We have given so much space to this first and "fundamental" group, that we must dismiss the rest much more briefly.

The next group, entitled "Parables of Free Grace," was addressed to the apostles as "administrators of the kingdom." It contains three parables: 1. That of the One Stray Sheep; 2. That of the Gracious King and the Unmerciful Servant; 3. That of the Laborers in the Vineyard. In the second of these, Dr. Richey explains the "unmerciful servant" as being the strong Jewish element which caused so much difficulty until the destruction of Jerusalem; and the murmuring Laborers in the Vineyard are explained in the same sense. "Thou hast made them (the Gentiles) equal to us who have borne the burden and heat of the day," was the great complaint. Dr. Richey says: "The ordinary and popular application of the parable to the called at the eleventh hour is not to be ranked as an interpretation of the parable, but as a perverson of its whole drift and teaching."

The third group, containing three parables, is a sharpening and intensifying of the teaching of the last group, and was addressed—not to the disciples privately—but to the Chief Priests and Elders publicly, in the Temple, on Tuesday in Holy Week—the last day of His teaching in its Sacred Courts; and they are full of the sharp two-edged sword of approaching Judgment upon obstinate and incurable opposition to Him and His glorious Gospel. They are: 1. The Two Sons; 2. The Wicked Vine-dressers; 3. The Marriage-feast and the Rejected Guest. In these three there is a gradual climax. In the first, the publicans and harlots enter the kingdom of heaven before the Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites. In the second, the rejection and crucifixion of the Son are set forth, with the punishment sure to follow. In the third, the patient and persevering loving-kindness of the King, the indifference and cruelty of those invited to the marriage, and their final destruction, are represented. Dr. Richey beautifully brings out the meaning of the difference of details in the parable given in S. Matthew, as compared with that in S. Luke.

The last group, consisting of four parables, follows naturally after that just mentioned. The destruction of Jerusalem was a type of the end of the world: and so closely is the idea of the one connected with that of the other, that in our LORD'S prophecy concerning them, it is not easy for the ordinary reader to distinguish them apart. In this group are four parables: 1. That of the Two Stewards; 2. The Wise and Foolish Virgins; 3. The Talents given in Trust; and 4. The Separation of the Sheep and the Goats. These four Dr. Richey well terms "The Eschatological Parables"—a "farewell Address to the Apostles on the Last Things." His minute and careful examination of them is a fit crown to a work which contains so much of research, such depth of patient meditation, such careful comparison of scripture with scripture, such inweaving of thoughts gathered from all manner of previous writers.

We unhesitatingly commend this work of Dr. Richey's as clearly *the best* yet issued on the special subject of "The Parables of our blessed LORD." It contains the quintessence of all the leading writers who have previously treated of the same marvellous theme. And yet there is, throughout, the freshness

of Dr. Richey's own thought, the beauty of his arrangement, and the exquisite unity of grouping, by which the distinct individuality of the parables given by S. Matthew, in their own order, is unanswerably demonstrated. We shall await, with great interest, the continuation and completion of Dr. Richey's work in a similarly profound treatment of the parables in each of the other Evangelists.

J. H. HOPKINS.

State Support of Religion in Massachusetts Bay.

I. The Colony.

THE earliest political unit of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was a compound of the ecclesiastical and the civil, of what afterward became respectively the parish or precinct and the municipality or town. The nucleus of the town was the meeting-house, and an old law of 1635, repealed about five years later, even enacted that no dwelling should in any future settlement be built more than half a mile from it. Even as recently as 1811 we find the Supreme Court asserting that "every town is considered to be a parish until a separate parish be formed within it" [First Paragraph in Brunswick *v.* Dunning, 7 Mass., 447]—though at this time, of course, a parish and a "church" had long ceased to be identical. The Colony itself was a collection of such town-churches, each sending its delegates or deputies to the General Court, the body in which resided the supreme power of the little State. As might have been expected where there was, or was supposed to be, one faith, and that held so tenaciously as to be made a political issue, every delegate felt himself equally a churchman and a citizen—felt that the interests of both spheres were inseparable, and that both had an equal claim upon his attention as a legislator. It is probable that in the earliest times every delegate was, as a matter of course, a member of a church, and it was only when zeal began to cool and false brethren to increase that the law of 1654 was passed, ordering that no deputy, although a freeman, should be received "that is vnsound in judgment concerninge the mayne poynts of Christian religion as they have bin held forth and acknowledged by the generallitie of the Protestant orthodox writers." [*Records of Massachusetts Bay*, III., p. 357.] The

very freemen who alone had the right to vote in the deputy's election were at first, no doubt, always church members, and were afterwards by law compelled to be such.[1] Being thus chosen and composed it was but natural, if not inevitable, that the General Court should have become the supreme ecclesiastical, as well as the supreme civil, power, though it does not appear that any of the ministers ever had a seat in it *ex-officio*, as the higher clergy in the English Parliament. The erection and support of meeting houses and the maintenance of their preachers must then have been imposed upon the civil power by its very constitution, and the manner of such support is clearly indicated by a series of laws extending from the foundation of the Colony to the establishment of religious equality among all denominations by the eleventh amendment to the State Constitution in 1833.

Before adverting to the main subject of this article it may be useful to have set forth some idea of the organisation and character of what the men of the Colony meant by the "church," and what power in ecclesiastical affairs the General Court was supposed to possess. In doing this I shall endeavor to use, as far as possible, the words of contemporaries, and shall adopt them as being correct.

The innumerable sects which, from the great hotbed of the Reformation, were rising like mushrooms in a rain, were, perhaps, little known to the Massachusetts colonist; he recognised chiefly—Pagans, Papists, the Church of England and "the Orthodox," of which latter we will try to give his own definition.

In an address sent by the General Court to Charles II, when that monarch was disposed to investigate its proceedings during the halcyon days of the Commonwealth, occurs the following declaration: "Your servants are true men, fearers of GOD and the King, not given to chainge, zealous of gouvernment & order, orthodox and peaceable in Israell; wee are not

[1] At a General Court held May 18, 1631, it was ordered that "to the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men," * * * "for time to come noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body polliticke, but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same."—*Records of Massachusetts Bay*, I., p. 87.

seditious as to the interest of Cæsar, nor schismaticks as to the matters of religion; wee distinguish betweene churches & their impuritys, betweene a living man, tho not w^th^out sickness or infirmitje, or no man." * * * "Wee could not liue w^th^out the publicke worship of GOD. Wee were not permitted the vse of publicke worship w^th^out such a yoake of subscription & conformity as wee could not consent vnto w^th^out sinne." [*Records of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. IV., pt. I., p. 451.] This "yoake of conformity" was, as afterward appeared, the obligation of using the English Book of Common Prayer.

More definite than the above is the following from an address of certain elders to the Court in defence of charges made against them by a committee of investigation in 1670: "We solemnly & sincerely professe that it is the present & important concernment of our publicke weal, both civil & religious, faithfully and ffully oune, assert, hold, & maintajne our first fundamentall interest (viz^t^) our standing under GOD'S couenant as his couenant people, & the whole Djvine right of that couenant as it is to be regularly and orderly dispensed to the propper subjects of it in the administration of doctrine & worship, according to Divine institution & the apostolicall patterne in congregationall churches, & that in that way of reformation which is according to the word of GOD, & which wee have professed & practised before the world, not receding from the safe and sober principles of the congregationall way lajd in the first foundation of those churches by our first sound & sincere reformers, yet vtterly disclayming (according to that serious & solemne caution published by the presse) all spurious principles & practises, as those of separation, Anabaptisme, Morellian (anarchicall) confusion, & licentious tolleration, which is no part of our cause, nor of the end & designe of the LORD'S faithfull servants, when they followed him into this land." [*Records of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. IV., pt. II., p. 489.]

A more modern definition, though taken in part at least from the old Ipswich minister, John Wise, is that of Chief Justice Parker in the case of Baker *v.* Fales. [16 *Massachusetts Reports*, 488.] "Probably there was no very familiar distinction at that time"—the early days of the Colony—"be-

tween the church and the whole assembly of Christians in the town." * * * "Before the migration of our ancestors to this country, it is believed a congregational church was, as it was in the earliest times of Christianity, an assembly of Christians meeting together in the same place, for the public worship of GOD, under the same minister or ministers." The judge then adopts the definition of a parish from Mr. Wise —"a competent number of Christians dwelling near together, and having one bishop, pastor, &c., or more, set over them"— and proceeds: "all the people of a Diocese did, every Sunday, meet together in one place to celebrate Divine service. The bishop had but one altar or communion table in his Diocese, at which his whole flock received the Sacrament from him. The whole Diocese met together on Sunday, when he gave them the Eucharist. All the people were present at church censuses." * * * "When a bishop died, all the people met together in one place to choose a new bishop. The whole Diocese met together to manage church affairs. Such was the church in the early times of Christianity, and such, it is presumed, was the church, as understood by our ancestors in the first settlement of this country."

The above seem to be precisely such definitions of a church as might be given by a person who, under the influence of a strong feeling against prelacy, formed his definition by a diligent perusal of the New Testament without regard to early Christian literature of any other sort. "There is," as has been said by a learned Anglican, "a kind of congregationalism to be found in the New Testament."

To preserve uniformity in the doctrine and discipline of a church as above defined, there was but one power in the Colony—the General Court. As to the extent of its authority we have, beginning with the Colony Charter of 1628, powers given to the Court "for the directing ruling and disposeing of all other matters & thinges whereby our said people inhabitants there maie be soe religiously peaceablie and civilly governed as their good life and orderlie conversacon maie wynn & incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledg & obedience of the onlie true GOD & Savior of mankinde and the Christian fayth." This was a broad power in religious matters and per-

haps somewhat indefinite. The Court proceeded promptly to develop it.

By a law of 1641 it was enacted that, "the civil authority here established, hath power and liberty to see the peace ordinances and rules of CHRIST be observed in every church, according to His word." [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, c. 39, § 11.]

Six years after, the civil war in England beginning to turn against the royalist party, the Colonists see their opportunity for carrying out more definitely some of their ecclesiastical schemes. The Legislature summons a synod or council of elders, and the following words of its preamble are worth quoting: "Although this Courte make no question of their lawfull power by the word of GOD to assemble the churches, or their messseng^{rs}, upon occasion of counsell, or anything w^{ch} may concerne the practise of the churches, yet because all members of the churches (though godly & faithfull) are not yet clearly satisfied in this point, it is therefore thought expedient, for the p'sent occasion not to make use of that power, but rather to expresse o^{r} desire," &c. [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. I., p. 155.] About eight years previously the Court had made a request to the same effect as the above, but it does not seem to have been regarded. At this synod the elders were required to use their endeavors to settle upon a definite form of church government and discipline based upon scriptural grounds, "and what they shall agree upon they shall exhibite y^{e} same in writing to y^{e} Govern^{r}, or deputy Gov^{r}n^{r}, for y^{e} time being, who shall p'sent y^{e} same to y^{e} Gen^{r}all Courte then next ensuing, to y^{e} end that the same being found agreeable to y^{e} word of GOD" (presumably by the Court) "it may receive from the said Gen^{r}all Co^{r}te such app'bation as is meete." The "Booke of Discipline" compiled the Court did "conceive meet to be comended to the judicious & pious consideration of the seuerall churches wthin this jurisdiction;" and they were to return the same with their opinion of it before further proceedings by the Court. This book was finally approved in 1651.

In June, 1661, there seems to have been the first attempt to define in exact language the limits of the Court's power under the Charter, and the committee appointed for that purpose re-

port, among other things, that the Court has "power and authoritje, both legislative & executive, for the gou'nment of all the people heere, whither inhabitants or straingers, both concerning ecclesiasticks & in ciuils, w^th^out appeale, excepting lawe or lawes repugnant to the lawes of England." * * "Wee ought to seeke the peace & prosperitje of our king & nation, by a faithfull discharge in the gou'ning of this people comited to our care." * * * "2. In propogating the Gospell, defending & vpholding the true Christian or Protestant religion according to the faith giuen by our LORD CHRIST in His word." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. IV., pt. II., p. 25.] This report was accepted and approved; the Court, no doubt, being of the good old-fashioned opinion that a man's character as a citizen is somewhat formed by the religion he professes.

On December 31 of the above year the Court passed another order calling a synod; this time proposing a distinct question of doctrine as well as of church polity. "1. Who are the subjects of baptisme? 2. Whither, according to the Word of GOD, there ought to be a conscociation of churches, & what should be y^e^ manner of it." [*Ib.*, p. 38.] Another synod was summoned, at the motion of certain elders, in 1679.

On July 10, 1685, with the dangers of a *quo warranto* and an investigation committee hanging over them, the Court sends out a summons to the various elders, couched in no uncertain terms, ordering, "that the reund elders of the seuerall tounes, in a schedule on file, be desired to meet & confer w^th^ this Court in council, the 21 instant, at eight of the clock in the morning, and that notice be given to those tounes who have neglected to send their deputjes to this session that they attend the law & their duty, as they will answer their neglect at their perrill." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. V., p. 492.]

With the power of summoning the elders to discuss and settle church doctrine, or for consultation in civil affairs, added to that of general supervision in all ecclesiastical matters, it is difficult to see how the authority of the Court was limited in these directions. In fact, it was a searching democratic despotism, from which any appeal was difficult, and could never, as such, have existed if its members had not been practically of one mind and one faith. The moment religious differences be-

gan to make themselves felt the power of the Court was questioned and divided. This was the secret of its struggles for uniformity of churchmanship and its desperate efforts against heretics, of which more in the sequel.

The legislation strictly relating to the support of the religious establishment may be divided into heads, as follows:

I. Laws relating to the support of the clergy and of places of worship.

II. Laws relating to the incorporation and erection of Parishes and meeting-houses.

To which may be added:

III. Laws against heresy.

These we shall take up under each head in their chronological order.

I. It is curious, as showing the disposition of the Massachusetts colonists, a disposition in which they may be very favorably compared with other pioneers, that at their first reported legislative meeting at Charlestown in the summer of 1630, "Imp^{r}, it was p'pounded howe the ministers should be mayntayned." At the same Court, "It was ordered, that homes should be built for them with all convenient speede, att the publique charge." And then follows a list of provisions and other articles allowed them. It is very easy to sneer at the bigotry of the colonists and to suspect the religious hypocrisy that was certainly fostered by their institutions, but how many modern settlements are started without even the pretence of a religious establishment?

The piety and zeal of the first comers seem to have required no laws compelling a contribution for the support of the LORD'S house or His minister—their voluntary gifts were no doubt sufficient for the purpose. [Parker, C. T., in Baker *v.* Fales, 16 Mass. 514.] Indeed such contributions are expressly referred to in the order of the Court of September 6, 1638. Here, after a preamble reciting that certain persons took advantage of their being neither freemen nor church members to "wthdraw their helpe in such voluntary contributions as are in use,—It is therefore hereby declared, that ev^{r}y inhabitant in any toune is lyable to contribute to all charges, both in

church & in comonwelth, whereof hee doth or may receive benefit; & with all it is also ordered, that every such inhabitant who shall not voluntarily contribute, p'portionably to his ability, w^th^ other freemen of the same toune, to all comon charges, as well for upholding the ordinances in the churches or otherwise, shalbee compelled thereto by assessment & distres to be levied by the cunstable, or other officer of the toune as in other cases." [*Records of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. I., p. 240.] This was the first law making such contributions compulsory. But more definite legislation soon became needful. After a provision that charges of elders when employed by order of the court should be paid out of the public treasury [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 39, § 13], a law passed at the Court of March 7, 1643–4, provides "that the lands & estates of all men, wherever they dwell, are lyable to be rated for all toune charges where the lands & estates lye, their p'sons to be rated to church and comon welthe in the places where they dwell; but in case they remove out of o^r^ iurisdiction, then their estates to bee rated to all charges." [*Records of Massachusetts Bay*, vol. II., p. 60.]

Special provision is next made for the residences of ministers in a law of 1647 [*Records of Massachusetts Bay* vol. II., p. 217], confirming the grant or purchase of parsonage lands by the town to be paid for by a general assessment of its inhabitants. Such grant was to be entered in the town records, and all transfers of the land to a minister's successors were to be by deed duly acknowledged and recorded. At the same session was passed an order supplementary to that of March, 1643–4, making "all lands, cattell & oth^r^ estates, of any kind w^t^soev^r^" * * "liable to be rated to all comon charges w^t^soev^r^, eith^r^ for y^e^ church, toune, or comon weale, in y^e^ same place where y^e^ said estate is." [*Ib.*, p. 209.]

A much more important law and one which was the foundation of most of the Province and State enactments that succeeded it, was that of 1654. After a preamble reciting the duty and authority of the civil power in the matter, it is ordered, "that the County Court in euery shire shall (vppon information giuen them of any defect of any congregation or townshipp within the shire) order & appoynt what maynte-

nance shalbe allowed to the minister of that place, and shall issue out warrants to the select men to assesse, & the constable of the sd toune to collect, the same, & distreine the sd assessment vppon such as shall refuse to pay;" * * "& if the tounes shall find themselues burthened by the assessment of the County Court, they may complayne to this Court, which shall at all times be ready to giue just reliefe to all men." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol IV., pt. I., p. 199.]

A law of the same year charges the inhabitants of each town with the liability of providing a suitable habitation for the minister, either by purchase or hire, or allowing him a sum sufficient to do so for himself. [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 39, § 16.]

An order of the Court of May 6, 1657, appointing a committee to look after certain ministers reported to be in want, is interesting in the recital that the Court regards its members as "by GOD'S p'mise, nursing fathers to y^e^ chhs." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. IV., pl., I., p. 287.] At a Court of October 23, in the same year, that active body proceeds to stir up the County Courts to their duty of supplying ministers to towns destitute of them and maintenance to such established elders as were in want. [*Ibid.*, p. 314].

At the spring session of 1660 there was passed a law supplementary to that of October, 1657, requiring the attendance of the County Courts to all legislative orders concerning the support and settlement of virtuous and orthodox ministers and the ejectment of such as were of unworthy character, and in addition desiring the presidents of such courts to "duly, from time to time, give it in charge to the grand juries of their respective courts to present all abuses and neglects of this kind." [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 39, § 18.]

The last Colony ordinance under this head seems to have been that of May 31, 1671, enacting that regularly ordained and established ministers "shallbe freed from all rates for the country, county, & Church, & for the toune also, except where, by speciall contract w^th^ the toune, they have consented thereto; provided this freedome shall extend only to such estate as is their oune propper estate, & vnder their oune custody & improovement." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. IV., pt. II., p. 485.]

II. Under the Colonial government the laws relating to the

incorporation of parishes are few, but no doubt certain formalities were observed from the earliest times. As early as September, 1630, persons were prohibited from planting in any place within the Colony limits without leave from a majority of the Court of Assistants. The probabilities are that the first settlers, having suited themselves to a tract of land, applied to the Court for leave to form a plantation, which, after a committee of inspection had visited the place, they were allowed to do—always provided, that they were able to support a minister's charges.

In the spring of 1635–6 it was first found needful to guard against the irregular organisations which were beginning to arise, by the following enactment: "That this Court doeth not, nor will hereafter, approue of any such companyes of men as shall henceforthe joyne in any pretended way of church fellowshipp, without they shall first acquainte the magistrates, & the elders of great^r pte of the churches in this jurisdiccon with their intencon, and have their approbacon herein. And ffurther, it is ordered, that noe p'son, being a member of any churche which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbacon of the magistrates, & the greater pte of the said churches, shalbe admitted to the ffreedome of this comonwelthe." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. I., p. 168.]

It was not till 1641, however, that the first law was passed giving a general right to the people to gather themselves into parishes, and its provisions were somewhat similar to the above: "All the people of GOD within this jurisdiction, who are not in a church way, and be orthodox in judgment, and not scandalous in life, shall have full liberty to gather themselves into a church estate, provided they do it in a Christian way, with the observation of the rules of CHRIST revealed in his word." [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 39, §1.]

The nonconformity anxiously guarded against by the government, and yet fostered by the very principles of the colonial churches, soon began to make itself felt, and the malcontents of each parish would naturally make an attempt to set up their new organisation within the limits of the old one. This was forbidden by a law of 1679 which, after reciting that such attempts had been made, orders for their prevention in the

future, "that no person whatsoever without the consent of the freemen of the town where they live first ordering had and obtained at a publick meeting assembled for that end and license by the special order of the general court, shall erect or make use of any house as aforesaid;" and a transgression of this law by more than three meetings in such house was to be punished by forfeiture of the house and land belonging thereto to the county. [*Ibid.*, § 20.] Under this law, in the following year, the Anabaptists were forbidden to occupy their lately erected meeting house in Boston. [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. V., p. 271.]

III. More interesting than the above are the numerous laws for the suppression of the various kinds of nonconformity which from time to time arose in the Colony and rapidly gathered strength. That the principles of dissent, Protestant Bible-worship, and the practice of unaided private interpretation of Scripture should have eventuated in free thought and a consequent melancholy loss of religious truth was perhaps inevitable, but the old colonists could not see the goal toward which they were tending. To avoid conformity they had emigrated and, once settled, had imposed as strait a conformity upon members and new comers as they had suffered from themselves. This was only natural with pious but narrow-minded men, who earnestly thought their ways and opinions to be the best. In criticising the men of the Bay Colony we must remember that though champions of religious freedom for those of their own way of thinking, yet they had no idea of what we understand by the term. As the government professed to exercise a religious as well as a civil policy and to rule by the Christian as well as the Common law, any opinions contrary to what they deemed orthodox Christianity poisoned the very source of power in the state, and in fact amounted to a kind of treason.

The first enactment under this head was aimed at the Anabaptists, or Baptists as they are now called. This was in the latter part of the year 1644 [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. II., p. 85], and threatened those holding or attempting to spread the opinions of the sect with banishment—certainly a better way of disposing of heretics than burning.

In a law of November, 1646, we find an interesting list of the false doctrines that the colonists regarded as heretical. They are "denying the Immortality of the Soul, or Resurrection of the Body, or any sin to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evil done by the outward man to be accounted sin, or denying that CHRIST gave Himself a ransom for our sins," or affirming "that we are not justified by His death and righteousness, but by the perfections of our own works," or denying "the morality of the fourth commandment," or openly condemning or opposing the baptising of infants, or purposely departing from the congregation at the administration of that ordinance, or denying "the ordinance of magistracy or their lawful authority to make war, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table," or endeavoring to seduce others to the same errors. Obstinate holders and teachers of the above heterodox opinions were to be mildly punished by a fine. [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 51, § 1.]

At the spring session of 1647 a severer law was passed that "no Jesuite or spirituall or ecclesiasticall p'son ordained by y^e^ authority of y^e^ pope or sea of Rome, shall henceforth at any time repair to or come within this iurisdiction." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. II., p. 193.] Such were to be banished on a first intrusion—a second was punishable by death. To the congregationalist of that time, and even to the Anglican, popery meant, not without good reason, about what paganism meant to the early Christian.

In October, 1650, the Court condemns William Pinchon's book, *The Meritorious Price of Redemption*, and summons the author to appear before it for a reprimand. [*Ibid*, vol. III., p. 215.]

In August, 1653, a general law against heresy was enacted, and for the first time in New England is set up an inquisition, if indeed the legislature had not constituted itself one long before. "Whereas the last session of this Court passed an order concerninge publicke preaching without allowance, which order we vnderstand is dissatisfactory to diverse of o^r^ brethren," * * "the Court doth repeale the sd order, and doth hereby enact that euery p'son that shall publish & mayntayne any heterodox or dangerous doctrine, shalbe lyable to be questioned &

censured by the County Court where he liueth according to the meritt of his offense." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. III., p. 317.] In the same year John Baker is prohibited from "prophesying publickly any more." [*Ibid*, p. 334.] Shortly after which the books of the fanatic Muggletonians are discovered by the vigilance of the Court to be full of "blasphemie," as they no doubt were, and were ordered to be delivered up and burnt. [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 51, § 3.]

In October, 1856, begins the first of a long series of laws against the Quakers. The intense convictions of the first members of this sect, and their very public way of proclaiming them, might have readily induced the average man to class them among religious lunatics, but the tone of personal bitterness which runs through all the enactments against them, show that they must have offended in other ways than by a mere difference of opinion. The General Court was jealous of its dignity, and the Quaker "was bound to face death itself rather than touch his hat to the greatest of mankind." There is a sense of wounded self-respect as well as orthodoxy in the preamble of this first act:

> Whereas there is a cursed sect of hereticks lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called quakers; who take upon them to be immediately sent of God, & infallibly assisted by the spirit, to speak and write blasphemous opinions, despising government, and the order of GOD in church and commonwealth, speaking evil of dignities, reproaching and reviling magistrates and ministers, seeking to turn the people from the faith, and gain proselytes to their pernicious ways.

The law then goes on to forbid shipmasters bringing Quakers into the country under penalty of a fine of £100 or imprisonment in default of payment thereof, and they are to give security to return the Quakers to the place whence they were taken. The writings of the sect were also forbidden importation. [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 51, § 4.]

In spite of these precautions the Quakers seem to have crept in, and in the next year the General Court so far forgot good policy and humanity as to pass a law which put the Colonists dangerously near the position of persecutors, and which they afterward had occasion to repent. No Quakers were to be even entertained under penalty of a heavy fine, and

such as persisted in coming were for successive offences to lose first one ear and then the other, and lastly to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron. Even speaking or writing in their defence, or encouragement, was penal; the keeping or circulating of their books was again prohibited, and to imitate them in the treasonable practice of "reviling the office or person of magistrates or ministers," made the offender liable to a flogging or five pounds fine. [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. IV., pt. 1, p. 308.]

In October, 1658, yet more severe proceedings were taken. All Quakers, after trial and conviction, were to be banished, and their return was to be punished with death. [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 51, § 9.] Their offences were defined as follows: They "do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, whose actions tend to undermine the authority of civil government, as also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from the orderly church assemblies, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of the truth; and instead thereof, and opposition thereunto, frequenting private meetings of their own," &c.

This article is not written either to justify or to condemn the Bay Colonists, but it must be pointed out that a liberal and reasonable construction of their charter very evidently gave them the moral right as well as the legal to refuse the privileges of freemen to such as they deemed might make a dangerous use of the same, or even to expel them if obstinately rebellious. To banish those holding opinions and practices presumed to be inimical to the best interests of the State, or to punish offences against the moral law committed in the name of religion, is not persecution; but to strive to change opinions by any other means than those of reason and persuasion is persecution.

About a year subsequent to the passing of the law of 1658 occurred the trial of William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, and Mary Dyer, Quakers, accused and convicted of a return after banishment. The two former were hanged, and Mary Dyer, being once reprieved but again returning, in the spring

of the next year, suffered the same fate. [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. IV., pt. I., pp. 383, 419.] This arbitrary exercise of power against British subjects by British Colonists seems to have been regarded as imprudent even by the Court itself, for at the time of sentencing Robinson and Stephenson, it puts on record a long justification of the act, interlarded with abundance of Scriptural quotations, and perhaps more satisfactory from a theological point of view than from a legal.

In the May session of 1661, another law passed against the unfortunate fanatics, who appear to have been wandering about the country without abiding place or settled occupation. These vagabonds, being arrested, were to be whipped at the cart's-tail through each town from the place of apprehension to the limits of the Colony's jurisdiction. A third return was to be punished in like manner, with the addition of being branded with the letter R on the left shoulder. On a fourth return they were to suffer death. [*Anc. Ch. Mass.*, ch. 51, §§ 11 & 12.]

But a day of reckoning came for both parties on November 27, 1661, when "a letter from the King's maj^{ty} was read in court, bearing date the ninth day of September last, in the thirteenth year of his maj^{tys} reigne, in & by w^{ch} his majt^{ys} pleasure in relation to y^{e} people called Quakers was signified." After the reading the Court declares that, considering the Quakers have reached the ears of the king with their tales and supplications, and "that wee may not in the least offend his maj^{ty,} this Court doth hereby order & declare that the execution of the lawes in force against Quakers, as such, so farr as they respect corporall punishm^{t} or death, be suspended, vntill this Court take further order." [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. IV., pt. II., p. 34.] After which, reciting among other things, "GOD'S suffering many ennemjes & vnderminers to multiply complaints against vs to our soueraigne lord the King," the Court proceeds to appoint a day of "humilljation." The stern law of 1661 was, however, again put in force in the fall of the next year, with the proviso that a whipping through three towns should be sufficient for offenders.

In 1663 a general law for the disfranchisement of heretics was passed in the following terms. After reciting that irregular religious societies were forming in some towns, "It is there-

fore ordered by this Court, and the authority thereof, that all persons, quakers or others, which refuse to attend upon the public worship of GOD here established; that all such persons whether freemen or others, acting as aforesaid, shall and hereby are made incapable of voting in all civil assemblies during their obstinate persisting in such wicked ways and courses, and until certificate be given of their reformation." [*Anc. Ch., Mass.*, ch. 40, § 5.]

In May, 1669, an order was passed suspending printing of the *Imitation of Christ*, a book which seems to have wandered curiously out of place among such Protestants. [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. IV., pt. II., p. 424.]

For the enforcement of the Act of 1663 was passed that of May, 1677, empowering the constables of each town to make search in all suspected places for Quakers, especially on the LORD'S Day, "and for all such persons as shall be prosecuted or complained of for absenting themselves from the publick allowed worship of GOD on the LORD'S Day, & will not so much as affirme they were there, or necessarily absent by the providence of GOD, it shall be adjudged a conviction and the breach of the law, & punished accordingly." [*Ibid*, vol. V., p. 134.]

In May, 1681, in an answer to the Court to the exception made by the attorney-general and solicitor-general against the Colonial legislation, the law of October, 1658, against Quakers was finally repealed. [*Rec. of Mass. Bay*, vol. V., p. 321.]

On June, 18, 1684, judgment on a *quo warranto* was entered in the High Court of Chancery against the Massachusetts Bay Company, and with the Colonial government laws against Protestant heretics, came to an end.

SIDNEY WETMORE.

The Source of Mr. Arnold's Power.

"THERE has scarcely lived," says the *Spectator*, speaking of Mr. Matthew Arnold, "a man better loved by his own, or more tenderly regarded by his friends." "He was personally," says the *Times*, "one of the most charming of men. * * * In all family relations he was admirable. * * * No one could be more missed in London, though he did not live in London." And from a circle outside either family or friends we have the same testimony. Mr. Arnold retired in November, 1886, from his thirty-five years' Inspectorship of Schools. In reading the *Times*' report of the farewell addresses made to him by the managers and teachers in the Westminster district, and of his reply, it is impossible not to see that he had transformed a relation likely to be at least difficult into one of the most happy and helpful, and had been "irresistibly winning" to a set of practical and hard-worked people with whom it was his business to be critical.

But not even these form the outermost circle of those who loved him. From his readers, Mr. Arnold gained an affection as lively, as personal, as from those who actually knew him. It was something different from what we feel for other authors, even our favorites. Carlyle might work wonders with us, but he never made us love him; Ruskin himself bewildered away the reverence he kindled; in Tennyson it is the poems that are dear, we do not realise the poet; and Browning, putting in our hand a magic glass through which humanity looms large attracts no feeling to himself. In all Matthew Arnold's writings there was nothing equal to the writer. This was the feeling, not of those only who knew the man first and afterwards the books, but of some, at least, who never knew the man at all except through the books, yet in the drama of whose life he was as real and living a personage as any on its stage. No new generation, of course, can read him with that delightful sense, which we had, of his being in and of our actual present. It is

in great degree the effect of his own work, and of the fitness which made his phrases and the thought they conveyed so quickly and universally current, that the world of to-day is not as it was ten or twenty years ago. For us there was nothing to allow, in weighing his arguments, for any change in the position of things. It was the very world we were finding so dull, so perplexing, sometimes so terrible, upon which he turned the flashes of his delicious humor, the clear light of his simple and penetrating criticism, the sunshine of his irrepressible hope. How few pages it took to know him! And once that was done, what a joy he was! The charm did not depend on his being indisputably right in all his judgments, in all applications of his method of thought: it continued in face of the certainty that this he was not. Nor was it only a result of the keen intellectual pleasure, the exhilaration, produced by his clearness of thought and style. It came from something more personal than this. It added to our admiration of the poetry and criticism with their high ideal and aim, a sense of pride and triumph, as though they were the works of some one who belonged to us individually. As he was "Matt" to his friends, so was he "dear Matthew" in the half-humorous appreciation of many of his readers, and we find a grave and by no means sentimental man, an American, who apparently never met him, writing of him quite naturally as "our beloved Arnold."

"I ask myself with astonishment," Mr. Arnold said, reviewing the relations he had had with his colleagues, assistants and managers, and especially with the teachers, during his inspectorship, "to what do I owe this confidence, this favor?" Certainly in their case, and no less, we think, in the case of his readers, he owed it to his own temper. He had brilliant endowment and accomplishment, he did solid work, and work which we felt to be distinctly beneficial to ourselves; this might win admiration, respect, gratitude: we *loved* him because of his temper. When he represents Arminius as complaining of him because he would not stand up square to his enemies, what a characteristic touch it is! "He begins to smile," says Arminius, "and tells me that what is passing in his adversary's mind is probably so and so." "I will not accept," he told the Westminster teachers, "all the praise you have given me, but I will

accept this: I have been fair, and I have been sympathetic." On "his unvarying sympathy," one of the managers had laid stress: "His readiness to appreciate and understand as human beings both teachers and pupils." Perfect temper is contagious, as rhythmic movement communicates itself; and we can well believe that all the officials of the department with whom Mr. Arnold had to do, "lightened for him the troubles of an inspector's life, instead of aggravating them," so that he likened himself to "the dairy maid in the rustic poem who found the dun cow, that was vicious to others, gentle to her."

"I assure you I am not at all a harsh judge of myself," Mr. Arnold went on. "But I know perfectly well that there have been much better inspectors than I. I could enumerate, and I have seen in my colleagues dozens of merits which I do not possess. * * However, I do not mean to say that I think I have been altogether a bad inspector. [Cheers.] I think I have had two qualifications for the post. One is that of having a serious sense of the nature and function of criticism. I from the first sought to see the schools as they really were. * * Another was that I got the habit early in my time of trying to put myself in the place of the teachers I was inspecting. Though I am a schoolmaster's son, I confess school-teaching or school-inspecting is not the line of life I should naturally have chosen. I adopted it in order to marry a lady who is here to-night, and who feels the kindness as warmly and gratefully as I do. [Cheers.] My wife and I had a wandering life of it at first. [There were only three lay inspectors for all England.] My district went across from Pembroke Dock to Great Yarmouth. We had no home: one of our children was born in a lodging at Derby, with a workhouse, if I recollect aright, behind, and a penitentiary in front. [Laughter.] But the irksomeness of my new duties was what I felt most, and during the first year or so it was sometimes almost insupportable. But I met daily in the schools with men and women discharging duties akin to mine, duties as irksome as mine, duties less well paid than mine, and I asked myself, Are they on roses? Would not they by nature prefer, many of them, to go where they liked, and do what they liked, instead of being shut up in school? I saw them making the best of it; I saw the cheerfulness and

efficiency with which they did their work, and I asked myself again, How do they do it? Gradually it grew into a habit with me to put myself in their places, to try and enter into their feelings, to represent to myself their life, and I assure you I got many lessons from them. This placed me in sympathy with them. Seeing people once a year is not much, but when you have come into sympathy with them they do not fade from your mind, and I find myself able to recall, and almost daily recalling, names and faces and circumstances of teachers whom I have not seen for years." How much all this meant in a poet, a man under thirty years of age, full of life and power, accustomed to all the brighter and less commonplace side of life, having enjoyed at Oxford a success and popularity probably unparalleled, with the society of men as distinguished as himself; having been since then in no harder position than that of private secretary to Lord Lansdowne—how much in such a one all this meant, this patient transmuting of drudgery into the free action of abundant life, probably one had need be a poet and a school-teacher to say. It no doubt meant a very ardent devotion to the lady of whom he speaks; but it must also have meant a singular balance and serenity of mind, a permanent condition of harmony which we can only express as perfection of temper.

The reviewer who introduced the new poet "A" to the general public in the columns of the *Times* for November 4th, 1853, after hearty praise of most of the poems, marvelled rather loftily at the "strange guides" the young man had chosen to "prop in these bad days" his mind. Thirty years later, when the writer of the notice was among his audience at Boston, Mr. Arnold told the story of his finding nothing to entertain him—in a lonely inn where he was detained on one of his inspector's journeys in that winter of 1853—but a not very new copy of the *Times*, and of his surprise and gratification at seeing in it this encouraging estimate of his work. Time reviews reviewers; and the "strange guides"—Homer, Epictetus and Sophocles—have been vindicated in more ways than one by the "even-balanced soul" whose are *our* "special thanks." Mr. Arnold brought to some of us the new ideas which were then precisely necessary to us; he gave words to

our inarticulate wish for proof of the "natural truth" of much that we believed; he struck the rock of experience, to which Science had led us across a desert, and the waters gushed out; he strengthened our love and reverence for Nature, while yet steadily affirming that

> Man hath all that Nature hath, and more,
> And in that *more* lie all his hopes of good.

And this *more* was to be ours as much as his own; he would be satisfied with no advance or elevation which did not bring forward and lift up the *whole* of mankind, no civilisation was real for him unless it was "*pervasive*." But what made all this beneficence and good-will fruitful for us was the manner of it, the fairness and sympathy of the man, his quickness to note and express for us what we had already of good; his amused patience with us; the temper, in short, by which he brought us insensibly to something of the flexibility he preached. It needed no high degree of magnanimity to acknowledge one's Philistinism when he made the way out of it so natural and agreeable. It was not necessary to adopt all his theological conclusions in order to profit by that "attempt religious," the question of whose solid worth he knew must be decided by "a calmer and more gradual judgment than that of the immediate present." Whether or not a change was inevitable in what we thought, a change was certainly to be desired in our way of thinking; we needed more simplicity, more reality, more intelligence; and such a change we have had. Its importance is best appreciated by those who are rejoicing over the new activity of young men in the churches. Twenty years ago, it cannot be denied, the average young man fought shy of religion and religious work. To-day he does not. "*One man's life*," Mr. Arnold quotes from Goethe, "*what is it?*—but even one man in his short term may do something to ease a severe transition, to diminish violent shocks in it, and bitter pain." At least so much we find Mr. Arnold to have done; to have done not only by his genius, nor by the force of peculiar opinions, but by the influence of a rare temper. Emerson's name may stand by his in this; and Socrates; no other.

There would be no need of insisting on these facts, if no one

talked of Mr. Arnold who had not read his writings. Newspapers do their best to be omniscient, but even they cannot always succeed, and the confiding docility with which their remarks on all sorts of subjects are accepted and repeated by apparently intelligent people is a thing to wonder at. The *Times* has a story of Mr. Arnold's boyhood, so significant, so prophetic indeed of his later lot, that it is worth meditating:

> On entering Winchester [College] in August, 1836 [he was not yet fourteen] he was put at once in 'Senior Part,' and was consequently under Dr. Moberly. An unfortunate remark made to the Doctor, at a breakfast where he and several of his form-fellows were present, relative to the light character of the work they had to do, being ill-naturedly repeated, caused him to incur much unpopularity in the school, and he was subjected to that form of ostracism known as 'cloister peelings,' when the victim was led out before the whole school and exposed for some minutes to a rain of 'pontos,' round missiles made of the crumbs of new bread. But this unpopularity soon passed away, and when he was adjudged to have obtained the palm of rhetoric over the whole school by his declamation of the last speech of Marino Faliero in Byron's drama, everyone was well pleased.

So are we all well pleased with all his fame. And if some of us have pelted him with "pontos" of hasty objection and contradiction now and then, we can plead the Winchester boys' good reason—he has been making the standard for us uncomfortably high.

G. E. MEREDITH.

Ought the General Thanksgiving in Morning and Evening Prayer to be Said by the Minister Alone, or by the Minister and People Together?

THE RIGHT REV. JOHN WILLIAMS, D. D., LL. D.

I BELIEVE the reasons generally alleged for the saying of the "General Thanksgiving" by the people, as well as the minister, are that it is impressive, or pleasing, or consonant to our ideas of propriety.

The only other reason I have ever met with is, that because the minister and people say the "*General* Confession" together, therefore they ought to unite in saying the "*General* Thanksgiving." But, surely, this puts a strain on the word "general" which it cannot be made to bear.

Suppose that in the rubric following the title a "General Confession," the words "to be said by the whole congregation after the minister" did not appear; suppose that in the rubric preceding the "General Confession" in the Office for the Holy Communion, the words "and all those who are minded to receive the Holy Communion" were not found; would the mere use of the word in question carry with it the duty or the right of joint utterance by minister and people?

Or, again, if the word has such force, how will it affect the saying of the "Litany or *General* Supplication?"

Besides, in the case of both the Confessions mentioned above the Amen at the end is printed in Roman letters, while at the end of the General Thanksgiving it is, and always has been, printed in italics. We were always taught, and I believe correctly, that when the Amen was in Roman letters it was to be said by the person or persons who had been directed to say that which preceded it; while, on the other hand, where it was printed in italics the minister alone said that which preceded it, and the people alone said Amen.

For these reasons I believe it to be liturgically incorrect and unlawful for the people to join with the minister in saying the General Thanksgiving.

J. WILLIAMS.

THE RIGHT REV. A. N. LITTLEJOHN, D. D., LL. D.

AS to the proper use of the General Thanksgiving I have nothing to add to what I have already said in the following words, which I send you as my contribution to the discussion of the subject.

The changes introduced by the Revision of the Prayer Book authorise a diversity of use not hitherto lawful. Not a few were opposed to touching the Prayer Book because this would be one of its consequences. To this new and authorised diversity we must become accustomed as best we can. But it should not be increased beyond what is necessary and lawful. All attempts in this direction originating in the taste or preference of individual clergymen or congregations should be discouraged. I have noticed, with regret, a growing disposition to use the General Thanksgiving in Morning and Evening Prayer in an unauthorised way, *i. e.*, by the minister and congregation together, as an audible act of worship common to both.

Besides the enactment of positive law by the Church, there are several reasons which may justify the introduction of some change of custom. (1) It may be a matter which is not ordered or forbidden, not provided for at all by any existing rubric, and something which has such strong inherent reasonableness that it is commonly regarded as permissible, at least until the Church makes some ordering. An example of this is the practically universal custom of singing some anthem or sentence at the presentation of the alms. (2) Or, again, a change of common usage may come about through the introduction of something permitted by rubric, but hitherto largely neglected. Such, for example, is the growing practice of saying the Nicene Creed in the Eucharistic Office. (3) Again, a rubric may be ambiguous, and the common interpretation of it not the best, and then a change may well be made which will bring our practice into conformity with the history of the

Prayer Book or with ancient liturgical use. Such a case is the repetition by the people of the *Sanctus* proper—the priest saying alone all that precedes the words, "Holy, Holy, Holy," etc. (4) Lastly, there are extreme cases where mercy must be preferred to sacrifice by directly contravening an existing rubric. This may be occasional or habitual, but in the latter case should, of course, be with the permission of the Ordinary. Under this head would come the omission in certain cases of the Warning of the celebration of the Holy Communion, or of the longer Exhortation, or of the Offertory, as well as the shortening or adapting of the services for the use of Missions, Schools, Chapels, etc.

But the saying of the General Thanksgiving with or after the Minister can be justified on none of these grounds. There is no reason why the people should say this particular prayer aloud rather than many others which are equally general in the character of their petitions, and where, as here, the Church directs that the minister shall be the mouthpiece of the congregation. Nor can this be justified under the second head, for there is no rubric which ever gave permission for such a practice, and of which advantage could now be taken. Nor, thirdly, is it a case where there is the slightest ambiguity of rubrical direction; and even if there were, the appeal to history for the best usage would condemn this. The General Thanksgiving was inserted in the Revision of the English Book of Common Prayer in 1661; and neither then, nor since, has any rubric directed common repetition. Fourthly, on the contrary such a usage is distinctly unrubrical and illegal.

The true ruling on the subject is stated clearly in Blunt's Annotated Prayer Book [American Edition, p. 240], as follows: "There is no authority whatever for the congregation saying the General Thanksgiving with or after the minister. Wherever this is intended the several clauses of the formulary are printed with capital initials." An examination of the Standard Edition of the American Prayer Book will show that this is the case. The following are the only parts of any services which the people are directed to say with or after the minister, and in each and every case the several clauses are printed with capital initials,—the *General Confession*, the *Lord's*

Prayer, the *Creeds* in the Morning and Evening Offices, the *Lord's Prayer* in the Litany, the *Confession*, the *Trisagion*, the *Lord's Prayer* in the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion, the *Confession* in Forms of Prayer to be Used at Sea.

In the Office for the Public Baptism of Infants it is not explicitly stated that the people shall say with or after the minister the Supplication following the Exhortation, but the fact that each clause of this Supplication is printed with an initial capital shows conclusively that this is expected. The Lord's Prayer is printed with initial capitals at the beginning of each clause throughout the Prayer Book.

The *General* Thanksgiving is general in the sense that it is for *all* men, just as the prayer which precedes it is for *all conditions* of men.* So far as I know, the saying by the people of the *General Thanksgiving* with the minister is a comparatively recent innovation. Quite naturally, and properly, those who favor this use must be expected to give some acknowledged authority for it. I know of none, and have never heard of any beyond the taste and liking of individual clergymen. It is thought, I have been told, by some, that this use renders the prayer more impressive. All who have any desire to maintain uniformity, where diversity is not authorised by the Church, will certainly regard this as a very insufficient reason, —a reason which, if widely acted upon, would plunge our worship into utter confusion. Clearly, as has been shown, the Prayer Book contains an explicit or manifestly implied direction on this subject, and those who respect its ruling will not encourage a practice that finds no countenance there.

A. N. LITTLEJOHN.

* In the English Prayer Book the following clause is bracketed after the words "and to all men," thus: ["particularly to those who desire now to offer up their praises and thanksgivings for thy late mercies vouchsafed unto them"], with this note,—* "This is to be said when any that have been prayed for desire to return praise." It is scarcely conceivable that a part of the service intended to be said by all, would have a portion which was to be said on one occasion and omitted on another One can imagine the confusion arising from the use of such a *General Thanksgiving* by the people!

RT. REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, D. D., LL. D.

"THE modern innovation of encourging and permitting the congregation to join with the minister in repeating the words of the General Thanksgiving is against all liturgical use. The printing of the *Amen* at the end of the General Thanksgiving, in the same way as it is printed at the end of the prayers, shows that it is intended to be used as the prayers are—that is to say, that the priest is to say it, and the people are to respond to it with the *Amen*. It is a violent interruption of the decent habit of the service to have the people break in at this time; and it is based, so far as there is any argument for it at all, upon a mistaken idea of the meaning of the word "general." What the Church means by this word is perfectly plain to see. It is simply opposed to *special* thanksgivings which follow when there is occasion to use them, from the forms provided after the Litany. It is the thanksgiving we ought to say for *general* mercies, as they are for *special* mercies. And it will be noticed that when in the Book of Common Prayer the words "*General* Confession" are used, that the description is not considered enough to indicate the Church's mind, that the people are to say it with the priest; but there is added to the title a rubric, "to be said by the whole congregation after the minister," etc. No such rubric follows the title of "General Thanksgiving," and therefore its saying by the people is by analogy against the intention of the Book of Common Prayer. The rubric in the Communion Office is equally explicit. That "General Confession" is to be made by the priest and all those who are minded to receive. The *General* Confession is the opposite of the *private* confession; the *General* Thanksgiving of the *special* Thanksgiving. People who want authority to repeat the General Thanksgiving must agitate for a rubric after it, "To be said by the whole congregation," or else they must not repeat it, or else they must acknowledge their practice unauthorised.

WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE.

THE REV. SAMUEL HART, D. D.,

CUSTODIAN OF THE AMERICAN BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

THE question proposed is: "Ought the General Thanksgiving in Morning and Evening Prayer to be said by the Minister alone, or by the Minister and People together?" This may be understood either as a question of rubrical interpretation or as a question of devotional and ritual propriety.

I. I have no doubt that in the use of our present Prayer Book the General Thanksgiving in Morning and Evening Prayer should be said by the minister alone, the people saying *Amen* at the end. There is no rubrical intimation that it is to be said in a different way from the prayers which precede or follow it; and the fact that the *Amen* is printed in italics shows that it is to be said by the people, the Thanksgiving having been said by the minister. If it had been intended that the people should say the Thanksgiving as they say the General Confession and the LORD'S Prayer, with the minister, a rubrical permission would have been made in this case, as in the others; and, again, this rule is absolutely without exception in our Prayer Book that, when the *Amen* at the end of a prayer, or thanksgiving, or doxology is printed in Roman type, it is to be said by the person or persons who have said that which precedes (and if this has been said by the minister alone, that the people shall not join in the *Amen*), while in every case in which the *Amen* is printed in italics it is to be said by the people, the minister alone having repeated the preceding words of prayer or praise. This last rule has been specifically recognised by the last two General Conventions, which, wishing to authorise the customs that the people should say with the minister a thanksgiving in the baptismal office, ordered, with all the formalities attending a change in the Book of Common Prayer, that the *Amen* at the end should be printed in Roman letters, stating expressly in the resolution that it was done for this purpose.

No argument, on the other hand, can be rightly drawn, I think, from the use of the word "general" in the title of the Thanksgiving. It is used here as in distinction to "special" or "particular," just as the "general" Confession is a public confession couched in general terms. The confession is not said

by the people because it is called "general," but because it is specially provided that the people shall say it; and a general thanksgiving should not be said in the same way unless there is a similar rubrical direction.

II. As to the propriety or desirability of inserting a rubrical direction for this purpose, I do not care to express as positive an opinion; yet my judgment would be decidedly against it, both on devotional and on ritual grounds.

SAMUEL HART.

THE REV. FREDERICK GIBSON, M. A.,

EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN EDITION OF BLUNT'S ANNOTATED BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

I CANNOT give my opinion on the use of this prayer more concisely than in the weighty words of Blunt, in the *last* edition of his Annotated Prayer Book. He there says: "There is no authority whatever for the congregation saying the General Thanksgiving with or after the minister.

"Wherever this is intended the several clauses of the formulary are printed with capital initials."

Thus in the General Confession, "to be said by the whole congregation after the minister," the clauses which are to be said with one inspiration begin each with a capital initial, as follows: "Almighty and most merciful Father; We have erred, and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep. * * * And grant, O most merciful Father, for His sake, That we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, To the glory of thy holy Name."

And thus is the LORD'S Prayer printed: "Our Father, who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. * * * And lead us not into temptation; But deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom," etc. And thus is printed the Special Confession for Ash Wednesday, which the people are to say after the minister: "Turn thou us, O good LORD, and so shall we be turned. Be favorable, O LORD, Be favorable to thy people, Who turn to thee in weeping, fasting and praying," etc.

And thus is printed the General Confession in the Communion Service: "Almighty GOD, Father of our LORD JESUS

CHRIST, Maker of all things, Judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, Which we, from time to time, most grievously have committed, By thought, word and deed, Against thy Divine Majesty, Provoking most justly, thy wrath and indignation against us," etc.

The General Thanksgiving was composed or compiled by Reynolds, Bishop of Norwich, for the revision of 1661, and has *never* been printed with liturgical clauses beginning with a capital initial, to indicate their use by minister and people in common. If the thanksgiving had been intended for joint use, the several clauses *would have been* printed with capital initials, somewhat as follows: "Almighty GOD, Father of all mercies, We, thine unworthy servants, do give thee most humble and hearthy thanks For all thy goodness and loving kindness to us, And to all men," etc. And that the bracketed addition from the English Book may be used, we should find it very difficult to say that addition together with the minister.

The printing of the *Amen* to the General Thanksgiving in *italics* is another liturgical proof that this prayer was to be said by the minister alone, and the *Amen* was to be the response of the people. If both were intended to unite in saying this prayer, the Amen would be in the same type as the text, as it is in the General Confession and in the LORD'S Prayer.

The only possible excuse for this fanciful *innovation* of saythe Thanksgiving in common is in the title "General" prefixed to it, but this evidently does not mean "*by* all," but "*on behalf of* all men," as the preceding prayer is "*for* all conditions of men," and this prayer might be said in common quite as consistently as that of the thanksgiving.

It is to be hoped that we may yet have the proper punctuation of the General Thanksgiving restored, as in the Photozincographic copy of the original from the folio of 1636, to wit, a semicolon after the word "thankful;" and a comma (as in the Sealed Books too) after the word "lives," and thus the phrase "we show forth," without the interpolated "may," would seem to have some meaning.

It may not be amiss to refer to a typographical change which has lately been made in our Prayer Book, and *which bears upon liturgical principles* connected with the subject un-

der consideration. In the office of Public Baptism of Infants, and in that of Adult Baptism, the Amen at the end of the prayer following the exhortation upon the words of the Gospel is to be printed hereafter in Roman type, "*to indicate*," it is affirmed, "*that the Prayer is to be said by minister and people.*"

This is *a change* from the Sealed Books, and from our last Standard, and necessitates a change also in the printing of the prayer in liturgical clauses each beginning with a capital initial, which latter change has not yet been ordered.

If the General Convention desires to change the use of the General Thanksgiving, and to order it to be said by minister and people, the Convention must direct the Amen after the thanksgiving to be printed in Roman type, and its liturgical clauses to begin with a capital initial.

The change in the Amen, and in the use of the prayer in the Baptismal Offices, is, in my judgment, a liturgical mistake. This is an ordinary prayer, and in the First Book of Edward VI was ordered to be said by the priest alone: "*The priest shall add also this prayer.*" What has misled our recent revisers is the introduction to this prayer, to wit, "let us faithfully and devoutly give thanks unto Him, and say," which introduction *originally* preceded immediately the LORD'S Prayer and the Creed, and then followed this prayer. Since the LORD'S Prayer and the Creed have been omitted, the introductory words, being before an ordinary prayer, need mean no more than the usual form *Let us pray.* The printing of this prayer *without liturgical clauses*, and the *Amen* being in *italics*, clearly indicated the intention of the Church heretofore.

FREDERICK GIBSON.

THE REV. THOMAS F. GAILOR, M. A.,

PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AND CHURCH POLITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH.

WHEN the General Thanksgiving, composed by Bishop Reynolds, of Norwich, was inserted in the Prayer Book of 1662, the "Amen" at the close of it was printed in Roman type in contrast with the black letter of the body of the

prayer to indicate that the thanksgiving itself was to be said by the minister alone. In the case after the General Confession, however, which was intended to be said by minister and people, the "Amen" was printed in black letter. In the American Prayer Book, for the same reason, the "Amen" at the end of the General Thanksgiving is printed in italics according to the resolutions of the General Convention with reference to the stereotyped Prayer Book in 1838.

The provision for the insertion of a special clause on certain occasions is consistent with this rule. The thanksgiving is called "general" to distinguish it from the particular thanksgiving, to be used "on several occasions," and is still printed with them in the English Prayer Book. For the minister and people to say it together may be agreeable to the individual devotional taste of some of the clergy in Ireland and America, but it is not justified by the history of the Prayer Book. The late Bishop Young, one of the very ablest of our liturgiologists, felt this so strongly that he issued a "godly admonition" forbidding the practice in his Diocese.

THOS. F. GAILOR.

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THE REV. JOSEPH F. GARRISON, D. D.,

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Dr. Garrison was absent from Philadelphia when our request reached him, quite ill, and was, therefore, only able to briefly state his opinion, as follows.—ED.

AS to the General Thanksgiving, I do not recall any high liturgical source for the usage of its joint repetition by minister and people. The grounds on which the custom has been introduced seem to be only a sort of feeling that the structure of the prayer itself indicates such use. On the other hand, the printing of the *Amen* in italics and different from the Text has always seemed to me decisive against this mode of saying it.

While there is considerable diversity among liturgists as to

the precise significance of the *Amen* when printed in the same type with the body of the prayer or other from which precedes it. There is an almost universal agreement in the opinion that when printed in italics, and different from the Text, it is intended to indicate that the Text is to be said by the minister alone, and the people are simply to reply with the "*Amen.*" If this be accepted as a principle in practical liturgics, and I think it is well established, it will, of course, confine the saying of the thanksgiving to the minister, leaving the people, as in all the other prayers, etc., of this portion of the service to respond alone with the "Amen" at the end.

J. F. GARRISON.

THE REV. WILLIAM J. GOLD, S. T. D.,

DEAN OF THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE General Thanksgiving should be said by the priest alone.

WILLIAM J. GOLD.

Contemporary Literature.

Prof. Fisher's History of the Christian Church.

PROFESSOR FISHER'S history* is a work of unusual value. In one volume of 664 pages he gives a sketch of the entire life of Christianity from the beginning down to last year. Everywhere there appears an earnest desire to be fair and candid, which is highly to be admired. And yet, on a closer examination—a Churchman could hardly be expected to find him satisfactory on some critical points. For instance, on page 37, after mentioning the *Agape*, he says: "At the close of this repast, whoever presided handed round the bread and wine, as JESUS had done at the Last Supper. This was the primitive form of the sacrament." This statement, ignoring entirely the Consecration of the Elements, is totally destitute of proof.

Again we read [p. 41] that "Worship in the apostolic age was a spontaneous expression of devout feeling. The order of worship was a free copy of the synagogue service. * * * No doubt the LORD'S Prayer was repeated, and it may be that benedictions and short forms of devotion were transferred from the synagogue service; but there are *no traces* of a *definite liturgy*."

And this is said, while in the same breath admitting that "fragments" of "Christian hymns are found in the Epistles," —as if hymns could have been fixed thus early, while the substance of the service was *not*. As if it were *possible*, that, with *such* a beginning, *all* branches of the Ancient Church should be found, only a little later, to have their own liturgies, and that *all* these liturgies should have the same twelve parts, and almost invariably in the same order.

* *The History of the Christian Church*, by GEORGE PARK FISHER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1888.

So, too, in regard to the ministry. We read [p. 51]: "In the New Testament, as we have seen, there are *two* classes of officers in each church, called, respectively, elders or bishops, and deacons." In *our* New Testament we read of Apostles also, *besides* the elders and deacons; and the Apostles exercised authority over the elders and deacons, whether living in the same city or not. And adding "Apostles" to "elders" and "deacons" makes *three* Orders, and not two. Our author continues: "After we cross the limit of the first century we find that with each board of elders there is a person to whom the name of 'Bishop' is specially applied, although, for a long time, he is likewise often called a presbyter. In other words, in the room of a *two*fold, we have a *three*fold ministry." But, as we have seen, if "Apostles" be added, we have a *three*fold ministry as clearly in the first as in the second century. Dr. Fisher says: "The period that elapsed between the destruction of Jerusalem and about the middle of the second century is obscure. For this interval our means of information are scanty." Yet he makes no allusion to the "*Angels*" of the Seven Churches of Asia in the Apocalypse—a word of almost identical meaning with "Apostles"—or to the Epistles of S. Ignatius of Antioch, written within a few years after the death of S. John, and *early* in the second century, which are definite enough for anybody. We beg pardon—there *is* an allusion to the Epistles of S. Ignatius on page 55: "Earlier, we find in the Epistles of Ignatius that it is not the *bishops*, but the *presbyters* who are the successors of the Apostles." But is it fair to refer to S. Ignatius for this, without adding that in the same place where S. Ignatius does this, he claims that the *Bishop* is in the place of CHRIST *Himself?*

So, too, when saying that, in the East, "the right to confirm remained with the presbyters," there *ought* to have been added the qualification, "but only with Chrism that had been consecrated by a Bishop."

Again, on the same page [54], speaking of ordination, he says: "In the ordination of presbyters, it is probable that bishops and presbyters acted together. It is probable that the bishop might, in certain cases, act alone. The question whether presbyters could act alone is still a subject of contro-

versy. There are instances on record where such ordination was disallowed; but *earlier, it may have been permitted.*" This last statement is a pure guess. There is not the slightest evidence of it.

On page 60, speaking of the religious services at marriage, we read: "The bride and bridegroom *sat* down together at the LORD'S Supper." There was no *sitting* at the reception of the Holy Eucharist in those days, nor until the time of the Reformation. It was probably a slip of the pen.

When we come to the times of the Reformation, we naturally find some phrases which do not come up to the full measure of historic accuracy.

In speaking of Wolsey's fall, Dr. Fisher says: "Early in 1541 the King charged the whole body of the *Clergy* with having incurred the penalties of the same law (the Act of *Præmunire*), by submitting to Wolsey in his legative character. Assembled in convocation, they were obliged to implore his pardon, and obtained it only in return for a large sum of money." It ought to have been added that the whole body of the *laity* were just as much in fault and under the penalties of that law as the clergy; but the King, by first giving the laity a free pardon, easily procured their grateful coöperation in squeezing the clergy.

On page 372, Dr. Fisher says that the English Reformers "held to what was the main feature of both the Augustinian and Calvinistic systems. This doctrine is explicitly set forth in the Seventeenth Article." It would have been more correct to say that of the famous Five Points, *all* of which are essential to the Calvinistic system, *only one* is "explicitly set forth in the Seventeenth Article," not one of the four others being found in the Thirty-nine Articles at all, and that even the one that is "explicitly set forth in the Seventeenth Article"—Predestination—is there guarded by a serious warning against the Calvinistic abuse of it.

In regard to the organisation of Methodism in this country, Dr. Fisher says [p. 518] that John Wesley "ordained Coke, and authorised him to ordain Asbury, as superintendents *or Bishops* for the Methodists in America." The insertion of the words "*or Bishops*" is entirely unwarranted. The same phrase

is repeated on page 577. Wesley never used the word in that connection, and never authorised its use. In Asbury's own "Journals," as at present issued by the Methodist Book Concern in three volumes, the Letter of Orders given to Asbury as evidence of that ordination is printed in full, and the word "Bishop" is not used at all. It did not begin to be used until some time after, in unofficial conversation; and when Wesley heard of it he wrote to Asbury condemning any such use of the word in the sharpest terms.

There are other places on which we could remark in a similar strain; but it is ungracious business in regard to a work which has so many and great merits. The candor of Dr. Fisher is shown in many ways. For instance, of the New England Puritans he says [p. 468]:

> The dead were buried in unconsecrated ground, and without prayer or any other religious rite. Whatever was thought to savor of 'will-worship,' or was considered a human invention, having no sanction in the Bible, was discarded. The fasts and feasts of the Christian year which could not plead an express warrant of Scripture were abolished. Days of fasting or of thanksgiving were specially appointed, from time to time, by the magistrates. The custom was established of appointing by public proclamation an annual autumn festival of Thanksgiving, and a fast day in the spring. Instrumental music was not allowed in the 'meeting-houses,' as the places of public worship were termed, nor anywhere in religious services. Even the reading of the Bible was not permitted in public worship, unless it were accompanied with exposition. * * * As among Calvinists generally, and the Puritans especially, the Old Testament was studied with an absorbing interest and reverence. There was not generally a clear or consistent view of Revelation as a gradually developing system, the higher and final stage of which is the Gospel.

And, on page 460, he says of them; "Before their migration (from England), much as they objected to certain features of the Anglican polity and ritual, they had never renounced their connection with the Episcopal Church as established by law."

Again, as to persecution, Dr. Fisher says of the Puritans: "The Puritan founders were not, and never pretended to be,

the advocates of universal toleration. They came into the wilderness because they saw no prospect that England would conform its ecclesiastical system to their view of the true principles of Protestantism and of the doctrine of the Scriptures, and they were bent on framing institutions corresponding to this view. At that time no political community existed in which religious liberty was recognised, and it was no part of the design of the Puritans to frame one."

On an earlier page [380], in giving an account of the rise of the High Church school in England, after mentioning several causes in the circumstances of the times, Dr. Fisher adds: "But beyond these specific causes of the growth of High Church doctrine we must not overlook an increasing influence, not springing wholly from these agencies, of what have been called 'the primitive and Catholic elements,' which, along with the Protestant elements, from the beginning entered into the Anglican system. There had been less disposition than existed elsewhere to isolate any single doctrine, or to give to it an exclusive prominence. Above all, there had been from the outset what may be termed a Patristic Spirit,—a desire to follow, as far as might be, the teachings of the early Fathers and the models of Church organisation in the first century. The habit of quoting the Fathers for the support and illustration of doctrines is exemplified in a striking way—to give but one instance—in the Homilies appointed, under Elizabeth, to be read in the churches."

But we must close, leaving unnoticed many passages, including some concerning the organisation of the Church after the Revolutionary War. The evident desire of Dr. Fisher to be fair and impartial marks his entire work from beginning to end. Though easy enough to see that he is not himself a Churchman, yet it would be impossible to gather, from his book, what particular denomination of Protestants he belongs to. There is a kindly and generous tone throughout, and one evidently in harmony with the growing desire for the Reunion of Christendom. In regard to this, he mentions the action of our House of Bishops, in 1866, in the following correct terms: "The Bishops, in 1866, issued a communication to the public on the subject of Christian Union, written in a conciliatory

tone, and professing a willingness to make large concessions with regard to modes of worship and on other points, provided Episcopal ordination is upheld."

J. H. HOPKINS.

The Science of Thought.

NOTHING is more remarkable in the advancement of modern learning than the interest which has been aroused among Americans in the study of philology. More than ever before the science of language is coming to be recognised in a very real way as the science of life. The recent controversy over the place of the classics in our universities has made this fact prominent—that the old perfunctory drill-ground of former days has been left behind, and that the merest school-boy, poring over his declensions and conjugations, has already entered upon the broadest and noblest field of philosophy and art. Prof. Müller's rich and entertaining work on the *Science of Thought** will be welcomed by all scholars. They may not accept all his conclusions. They may object to the very summary way in which he dismisses the opinions of some other philosophers. But they will gladly recognise his manly and direct defense of his own views, his keen insight into the vital points of the discussion, and his varied and accurate learning evident on every page. The present work is the philosophical outcome of the study of a life-time in the science of language. It is dedicated to Prof. Ludwig Noiré, whose theory of the origin of roots seems to have been its real inspiration. The argument is clear and easily understood—so clear, indeed, that it might easily have been concluded in one volume had not the author evidently desired to make use of the opportunity to express his views on many subjects not absolutely necessary to the matter in hand. The keynote of the work is the identity of language and thought as two phases of the same thing. "Language is not outside of thought, but is the outside of thought." This leads to an historical

* *The Science of Thought*, by F. MAX MULLER, 2 vols. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1887.

consideration of the opinions of philosophers, ancient and modern, in which the whole question of the origin and relation of sensation, perception, conception and naming is ably discussed, and not a few telling criticisms are made on the ambiguities of ordinary philosophical language. To Prof. Müller language is the unsurmountable barrier between man and beast. He assails the extreme evolutionists, who call themselves Darwinians, and protests against the monstrous hypothesis, which Darwin originally rejected, that the broad lines of natural limitation have been broken through, so that one genus has developed into another genus, a horse into an ape, or an ape into a man. There are several passages in this connection worth quoting, *e. g.:*

> Darwin, like Empedokles, imagined that the 'Survival of the Fittest,' 'Natural Selection,' 'Influence of Environment,' and some other such names or powers, would explain all that has to be explained; but if we examine every one of these terms more closely, we shall find, indeed, that they explain a great deal, but at the same time that they presuppose a great deal. We are not to speak of a rational Creator, nor even of some primordial Nous or Reason or Will. But what does 'Natural Selection' mean? If we divest it of its metaphorical disguise, we find that Selection presupposes distinction and judgment, and, therefore, unless all is chance, Natural Selection presupposes some kind of reason. 'Survival of the Fittest' again is sheer tautology, and simply returns us our question in the shape of an answer. We ask, Who is fit to survive? and we are answered, He who is very fit or the fittest. Lastly, if we ask whether that fitness comes from within or from without, we are referred to the influence of environment, as if nature was not a whole, and the surroundings or circumstances in which each individual moves as much a part of nature and nature's plans as each individual, each genus and each species.

The chapter on Kant's Philosophy is really admirable, and would make the work, if there were nothing else in it, of great value. So sincere is the author's reverence for Kant that he expresses the conviction that Darwin would have abandoned his theory of the descent of man had he been acquainted with the *Critique of Pure Reason.* When he comes to consider Mr. Herbert Spencer's objections to Kant, he compassionates a philosophy which ignores history, and a misconception of

Kant which must certainly have been caused by the use of an imperfect translation. "A philosophy without antecedents is like a tree without roots."

It is not until the end of the first volume is reached that Prof. Müller is fairly launched upon his theory, which may be briefly summarised. Psychological acts are divided into four classes—sensation, perception, conception and naming. In man these are necessarily connected. With conception comes language, and the absence of language is fair evidence of the inability to form a concept. Thus reason has left its autobiography in language. The history of the development of language is the history of thought, and logic, psychology and metaphysics have here their most real and accurate field of investigation. All language is built up from roots. Each root expresses action, and is the name of a concept. Given, therefore, a self-conscious monon and about one hundred and twenty concepts, and we shall have the groundwork of the eight hundred roots which can explain the largest dictionary. Christian language "ceases to be mysterious and wonderful, and becomes the simplest thing in the world." The only ultimate entity which so far eludes analysis is the postulated self—"the self who seems to see and think, and yet is different, both from the eyes and from the words." What that self is, Prof. Müller promises to explain in a forthcoming volume. This relation of great problems will probably appear to most minds too easy to be true, but all will gladly recognise and appreciate the freshness and clearness of Prof. Müller's style, and will heartily enjoy his running comments on well-known theories in philosophy and psychology. He speaks always from a severely scientific standpoint—so scientific indeed that he is constantly obliged to waive the question of the existence of GOD. This, however, gives his criticisms of modern scientists an additional interest and importance. Perhaps we shall find in a future work some statement of his own religious convictions, and then we shall be prepared to understand the real meaning of myth and mythological when applied to the belief in a Creator.

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Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria.

IT would be difficult to conceive of a more fresh and delightful field of investigation than that which Mr. T. G. Jackson, author of *Modern Gothic Architecture*, has opened up to lovers of ecclesiastic art and history in the three volumes of *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria.**

The history of Dalmatia from the fifth to the eighteenth century in itself would have made a fascinating book, told in Mr. Jackson's vivid manner; but the intrinsic value of the work before us is evidently supposed by the author to lie in his description of his researches among the treasures of her ancient ecclesiastical buildings. Of these it is not too much to say that the story here unfolded is a revelation, rather than a description; the very names of the places where our author discovered the richest conceivable treasures of mediæval art, being presumably almost unknown, only one important work (that of Prof. Eitelberger) on the subject being extant, and that one stopping short of the Renaissance. It is also to be noted that the chief sale of the professor's work was in England, so that the subject of Church Art in Dalmatia and Istria has the charm of novelty to most of us.

The history is also fresh and full of quaint, interesting episodes dramatically told.

The architecture of Dalmatia has distinctive peculiarities, bearing, up to the twelfth century, traces of Byzantine influence, the Dalmatians after that period developing a native art of their own. They clung to Romanesque through the thirteenth and part of the fourteenth century, when the pointed arch began to appear now and then until the final Venetian occupation of Dalmatia, when the Romanesque made way for the contemporary art of Venice, a form of Gothic invented and refined by the Venetians.

The first churches described are those of Zara, the town at which travelers visiting Dalmatia usually land, and which is rich in examples of the national style. Exquisite illustrations are given not only of the buildings, but

* *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, by T. G. JACKSON, M. A., F. S. A., Oxford, Clarendon Press, New York. Macmillan & Co., 3 vols. 1887.

of sacred vessels, pastorales and lovely bits of carving and mosaic, etc.

Beside the proper history of the country, which takes up the main part of the first volume, each building described has an individual history in almost every instance, throwing light on the life of a remarkable people, who have passed through equally remarkable experiences.

The interest of Mr. Jackson's researches is kept up throughout the whole work, and his graphic and picturesque style relieves the strictly architectural disquisitions from the usual dryness of technical reading. A little doubt on the part of the uninitiated reader as to what soffits, squinches, swags and other terms may mean does not detract from the pleasure of perusal, but rather gives him the pleasing sense of being engaged in profound study without the trouble involved in the reality thereof.

It is difficult to exalt the beauty of any one of the churches portrayed over another, all being striking. The Duomo of Zara has some extraordinary points of architecture, and possesses some splendid treasures—chiefly the huge silver-gilt Ark, said to contain the body of S. Simon (with a marvellous history attached thereto), and the pastorale of Archbishop Maffeo Valoresso, who lived in the fifteenth century. Equally fine is the Duomo at Sebenico, and in some respects more singular. The Dalmatians appear to have held pulpits in great esteem, if we may judge from the immense size and height of those of which drawings are given. That in the Duomo of Spalato is a characteristic specimen, the Romanesque capitals being particularly rich in carving of winged beasts and interlaced foliage. The carving of choice stalls in the same Duomo is a vision of *what might be* in our own land, if our hurrying life gave us any time to wait for our church buildings, while such exquisite adornment was in process of creation; and, indeed, the reading of this work is apt to evoke a feeling of wonder and, perhaps, regret that these marvellous monuments of the faith and patience of an earlier age should be existent in a country where so few appreciative eyes can see them. The majority of those who now worship in them are a comparatively rude and illiterate race, while we, with all our

wealth and boasted culture, and our boast of spirituality, are content with at best a weak imitation of old-time architecture in our city churches, and in rural districts an edifice of wood.

It is not to be supposed that the Dalmatians expended all their art on churches alone, even the imperfect remains of some of the public buildings in small ancient and decaying towns showing traces of the same elaborate ornament and careful construction as the ecclesiastical buildings. At Ragusa, for example (the most interesting and picturesque town in the country, which still retains its mediæval features almost intact), the palace of the Rector, rebuilt after being destroyed twice by fire in 1464, presents some of the finest features of the classic Renaissance in Dalmatia. The drawings of four Gothic capitals, all that remain of seven, the original number, are lovely as a dream.

From the strictly archæological subject of the buildings of Ragusa Mr. Jackson lightly turns to a bright account of a trip to the island of Mezzo, where new items of tradition are picked up, and still more valuable specimens of church plate discovered, among them a remarkable silver-gilt chalice, six inches wide at the brim, and weighing eighty ounces. On the foot is a figure of S. Biagio (or Blasius), and the bowl is quaintly adorned with the figures of two angels, holding on to the brim with one hand, touching the base of the cup with the other, and resting one foot on the jeweled knob of the bowl. Exquisite as a work of art, the faint suspicion of latent covetousness caused by the contemplation of its beauty, of which conscience might accuse us, is checked in its development by the consideration that this superb vessel would scarcely be available for the ordinary service of a modern church.

Another strange piece of plate, in the convent of S. Sava, or Savina, at Castelnuovo, is an article called Petohljebnica, or fine-bread platter, used on certain festivals. It is a tazza, with four branches supporting two small cruets and two platters, and in the centre a cup with lid. When in use the cruets are filled with oil and wine, the platters with bread and grain, all emblems of plenty, which are blessed by the priest. Like many of the other vessels, it gives emphasis to the singularity of many church customs in ancient Dalmatia.

Leaving Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria, Mr. Jackson proceeds to Montenegro. In describing Cettigne, the capital, he quotes from another author an account of S. Peter, of Montenegro, in the latter end of last century, Vladika, who died in 1830, and of his canonisation, which strikes us with a sense of plagiarism on the part of *somebody!* The Vladikas were Prince-Bishops, and of this one it is stated, "*He was venerated by his people, as well for his great courage in war as for his charity in peace.*" We fancy we have heard very much the same thing said of an American hero, who as yet has not been formally canonised. If history repeats itself, it would seem that the men who make history are occasionally duplicated; and we read further that "*no favorite saint ever had deeper veneration from the popular mind than has that S. Peter, with whom every Montenegrin past middle life was actually on terms of familiar intimacy.*"

Have we really advanced as immeasurably as we imagine beyond the ideas of the ancient churches that still inhere in the people still under their rule? or are we deficient in the faculty of recognising sanctity in fellow-Christians with whom we are "on terms of familiar intimacy? Perhaps Montenegro is an exceptional country in all ways, as she certainly is in some. Her fame is spread abroad for pluckiness in warfare, generally playing terrier to the Turk's presentation of the part of rat, through many bygone generations. It certainly is a country to which Mr. Henry George might emigrate with advantage, for his *bête noire*, Poverty, does not exist. "Every one has a bit of land and manages to live without distress. There are no *grandi signori* or rich proprietors, and though some are better off than others, the community is not divided into several classes as in other countries. Below the Prince's family, all are equal."

The race of Prince-Bishops ended with Peter the Second, nephew and successor of the saint above mentioned. He appears to have been an exceedingly muscular Christian, having a majestic height of six feet and eight inches, excelling in military exercises, enjoying the confidence of his troops, and a good shot; successfully hitting a lemon thrown in the air was one of his feats. He was also a great reformer. His successor

declined to take orders, and secular princes have reigned since 1851.

Mr. Jackson's description of the islands of the Quarnero is very attractive and suggestive of a happy hunting ground for tourists who are tired of the regulation European show-places, and their churches appear to be a mine of wealth to students of architecture.

The whole work is replete with valuable information, given in the most charming style of narrative. There are two hundred and eleven illustrations, sixty-six of which are colored plate illustrations, besides numerous maps. The mechanical part is done in the highest style of the printer's art.

FRANCIS M. COX.

Brief Notices.

Notes for Meditation Upon the Collects.

THE rapidly increasing number of devotional Church books issuing from the press in these days is a fact amounting to strong proof of the genuine spiritual fibre and tone of the Revival that is now dominating and energising, to a greater or less degree, the entire Anglican Communion. To attain sanctity of heart and life, to realise a fervid, yet sober, feeling of personal union with the deified Humanity of our Savior CHRIST is becoming among Churchmen more and more a daily aspiration and endeavor. The practical experience of those who live religiously goes to show that one sure source of spiritual growth is found to be in the habitual and devotional use in private of the Church's Service Book. The Prayer Book, like the Bible, ought not to be used formally and mechanically, but familiarly and in a meditative spirit. The daily Morning and Evening Offices and the Divine Liturgy are in a measure adaptable to private use. Especially is this so in respect to the Collects. They are in their very nature calculated to educate the finer religious feelings. Saying them daily connects the private devotions of the faithful with the

sublime corporate worship of the Church in the Mysteries of the Altar. To promote such individual and appreciative use of a most precious portion of the Prayer Book is the design and scope of *Notes for Meditation Upon the Collects.**

The author's intellectual reputation and severely trained spiritual character as a Religious would reasonably force the conclusion that the work in question possessed decided merit. The substance of the book fully confirms such anticipated opinion. Its distinctive feature is suggestiveness. Every page is compact with vigorous and helpful thoughts in exposition of the essential theological and practical teaching of the Collects. The line worked on is, indeed, one of rich material. The Collects are the Orient pearl of the Western Liturgies. They crystallise in marvellously terse and sententious form the intense, yet calm, fervor of the great ages of the Church, the ages of faith and good works, of love and devotion. They are indissolubly linked with the Eucharistic Worship, and are pregnant, therefore, with all the delicacy of prayer. This little work by Mr. Hall will effectively promote the intelligent and devotional use of these gems of the Prayer Book.

Notes for Boys.

BOOKS that fairly and squarely announce themselves as books of good advice to boys are seldom regarded in advance with much favor by the constituency to which they desire to appeal. It may be open to doubt, indeed, whether persons much older than boys feel inclined to give rapturous welcome to that oftentimes unpalatable article, unless it be skillfully disguised. In *Notes for Boys (and their fathers) on Morals, Mind and Manners,*† however, we have a large amount of very excellent advice so pleasantly given that most intelli-

* *Notes for Meditation Upon the Collects for the Sundays and Holy Days. Part I. Advent to Trinity.* By A C. A. HALL. M. A., Mission Priest of the Society of S. John the Evangelist. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company.

† *Notes for Boys (and their fathers) on Morals, Mind and Manners.* By an Old Boy. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

gent lads would find it very agreeable reading. The book is a reprint from the English edition, without alteration, and though occasionally some of the remarks made and advice given do not apply to the conditions of American society, the topics are in themselves of interest to all boys beginning to grow up; and are treated with discrimination. The chapters on *Courtesy and Gentlehood*, *Purity and Temperance*, and *Men and Women*, are especially excellent, and evidently the honest opinions of a robust and yet sympathetic mind. From a Church standpoint, the one brief chapter on Religion is vague and unsatisfying, but the writer's own firm belief in the necessity of religion as the main-spring of a true manly life is quite evident; and he distinctly states that he is writing on *morals*, and only speaks of "the external aspects of religion, rather than its vital elements." The book, on the whole, is admirable in tone, and most boys would, having commenced, read it to the end.

Essentials of Perspective.

IF a young student of drawing in its higher stages were disposed to shirk the stern difficulties of the principles of perspective (which, by the way, are apt to be exaggerated by lack of clearness on the part of teachers), he would assuredly have both courage and ambition quickened by even a cursory examination of *The Essentials of Perspective*.* In the lessons given in this book, which Mr. Miller in his preface speaks of with great modesty, as being only what he has given through many years on a blackboard, are, if not quite exhaustive, at least very full of sound practical teaching. So far as possible, technicalities of diction are avoided, and the diagrams clear and easy of comprehension. Many of the subjects given in illustration are quite charming little studies, apart from their value in exemplifying the principles taught.

* *The Essentials of Perspective*, with illustrations drawn by the author. By L. W. MILLER, Principal of the School of Industrial Art of the Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Faith and Conduct.

FAITH AND CONDUCT * is pronounced by its anonymous author to be deficient in grace of style, but if we accept his judgment on this point, we must perforce admit that a style without grace is exceedingly agreeable, a somewhat difficult position to justify. Certainly there is no apparent effort to make the themes handled in this book attractive by reason of elaborate dressing, but in its thorough simplicity and directness there is considerable charm. The writer deals with the subject (or, rather, as he himself is careful to state, a part of the subject) of Verifiable Religion as a purely personal matter, apart from theories of the Church or human development, and although describing himself as a layman of the Church of England, abstains carefully from all appeal to authority. So carefully, indeed, as to speak in one or two instances of the LORD JESUS CHRIST simply as "The Founder of Christianity,' and of His teaching as teaching only, without reference to the Divinity of His wisdom. Nevertheless, the whole book is saturated with essentially Christian thought, as the chapters on "The Denial of Self," "Prayer and Trust" and "Grace" abundantly prove.

It is well, perhaps, that the unknown author gives a half-promise that the present volume will be supplemented by others on *Faith and Charity* and *Faith and Progress*, which will admit of warmer treatment; for in spite of its lucid style and the abundance of vivid thought clothed in aphoristic speech, there is a certain coldness pervading it that is a little chilling, if not absolutely repellent. The opponents of the emotional school of religious teaching would doubtless fully appreciate this calm, deliberate fashion of presenting truth, and those who belong to that school would be considerably the better for giving it careful study.

* *Faith and Conduct.* An Essay on Verifiable Religion. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

The Heart of Merrie England.

THERE is always more or less pathos in the writings of men who essay to tell the story of the days when they were young. The lively description of a village merry-making, the repetition of the wit and wisdom of those who were the writer's seniors when their more or less brilliant jests were uttered, almost invariably carry with them the echo of a sigh. And this is especially noticeable in the case of *The Heart of Merrie England*,* written by an English clergyman who has lived fourteen years in this country, and sufficiently in love with his new country to prefer the England of the past to the England of to-day. Indeed, though the aim of the book is said to be to give to Americans a fair idea of the scenery and village life in the lesser known Midland counties, a large proportion of its pages is taken up with scraps of antiquarian knowledge and charity stories of places and people not specially interesting to any one beyond their own neighborhood. Evidently, however, every such little anecdote is of strong interest to the writer himself, and is told with a verve that often atones for the thinness of its quality.

Dr. Stone does full justice to the quiet beauty of Oxfordshire, Worcestershire and Warwickshire, and in his minute descriptions of flowers, birds and rustic life reminds one of the late Wm. Howitt, a master of that branch of literature.

The pleasant tone and genial sympathy with happy people make the book agreeable, notwithstanding a tendency to speak of coarse revelry and indulgence in the cup that *does* inebriate, in a tone of jocular complacency that is, to say the least, unusual, and happily as out of fashion as the practices of the earlier part of the century.

* *The Heart of Merrie England.* By the Rev. JAMES S. STONE, D. D. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates.

Open Letters.

Open letters will be admitted in criticism of any statements made by writers in the REVIEW, *or on any subject of general interest to the Church. The name of the writer will in every case be printed with his letter.*

Contemporary Ecclesiastical and University History.

IN this department of the CHURCH REVIEW we propose to note, each month, such matters as are, or are likely to become, of general interest to the Church, and to record documents that form a part of the history of the Church and which would not otherwise be generally accessible to the public. The record will extend over the previous month of that in which it appears in the REVIEW. We hope the clergy and laity will co-operate with us in our efforts to make it accurate, for upon its accuracy its value will largely depend.

The University intelligence for June will be omitted here and be given in the volume containing the index to the REVIEW for the past forty years, and also theNecrological register for June, and list of ordinations.

THE CHURCH'S GROWTH IN NEW YORK CITY.

The New York *Evening Post* recently published a very striking exhibit of the Church growth in the city of New York. As to the accuracy of which we can only state that in the discussions that followed in the secular and religious papers the statements were not disproved. In the first of its tables it showed the relative proportions of the increase in population and that of Church membership.

PERCENTAGES OF INCREASE IN POPULATION.

Population.	Percentage of increase.
On estimated increase of 200,000	15.38

PERCENTAGES OF INCREASE IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP.

Increase without Episcopalians	3.12
Increase with Episcopalians	13.03
Increase of Episcopalians	31.74

From the above comparisons it will be seen that the increase of the combined Protestant denominations, leaving out Episcopalians, is only equal to an increase in population, during the past five years, of a trifle over 40,000, while in conjunction with the Episcopal denomination it rises to equal an increase in population of 170,000 which falls only slightly below a conservative estimate of the city's growth.

This detail is further carried out in the next exhibit which shows the individual denominational contributions during the past five years and also the respective growths in the preceding decade:

PERCENTAGES IN CHURCH MEMBERSHIP BY DENOMINATIONS.

	Percentage.	
Episcopal.		
From 1872 to 1882	30.95	increase.
From 1882 to 1887	31.74	do.
Presbyterian (regular).		
From 1872 to 1882	21.28	do.
From 1882 to 1887	8.20	do.
Presbyterian (all shades).		
From 1882 to 1887	6.90	do.
Baptist.		
From 1872 to 1882	13.15	do.
From 1882 to 1887	5.06	do.
Methodist.		
From 1872 to 1882	11.72	do.
From 1882 to 1887	1.12	do.
Dutch Reformed.		
From 1872 to 1882	23.36	do.
From 1882 to 1887	6.00	do.
Congregational.		
From 1872 to 1882	163.60	do.
From 1882 to 1887	5.78	decrease.

The denominational ebb and flow shown by the foregoing comparison cannot fail to interest every student of sociology, independent of the personal interest it possesses for all denominationalists. It is seen, for example, that the Episcopal Church is the only one whose increase is in excess of the probable increase in population, and that it alone shows an increase during the past five years over its ratio of the preceding decade. Next we find that the Presbyterians, which made a gain of 21.28 per cent between 1872 and 1882, fall to a percentage of only 8.20 between 1882 and 1887; while the Congregational denomination, which showed extraordinary gains between 1872 and 1882, exhibits an actual decrease in membership for the past half decade.

FOND DU LAC.

The Fourteenth Council of the Diocese of Fond du Lac assembled in S. Paul's Cathedral, Fond du Lac, June 5. The Rev. Prof. T. M. Riley, D. D., of Nashotah House, preached a memorial sermon on the late Bishop, the Right Rev. J. H. Hobart Brown, S. T. D., and appropriate action was taken relative to the life, character, work and death of the late Diocesan. The election of his successsor was the most important work of the convention.

The result of the first ballot was: Clergy—The Rev. C. C. Grafton, 12; the Rev. George M. Fiske, 12. Laity—The Rev. C. C. Grafton, 12; the Rev. Geo. M. Fiske, 23; the Rev. Wm. Dafter, 7.

The second ballot resulted as follows; Clergy—The Rev. C. C. Grafton, 8; the Rev. George M. Fiske, 14. Laity—The Rev. C. C. Grafton, 9; the Rev. Geo. M. Fiske, 29; the Rev. Wm. Dafter, 2.

The President then announced the election of the Rev. George McClellan Fiske, of Providence, R. I., to the Bishopric, which on motion was made unanimous.

DELAWARE.

The one hundred and second annual convention of the Diocese of Delaware assembled in Christ Church, Dover, June 6. The chief work of the convention was the election of a successor to the late Bishop Lee. The convention was organised with the Rev. Lewis W. Gibson President. The constitution

requires a *two-thirds* vote to elect, which was largely the cause of so many ballots being taken before an election was reached. There was no partisanship manifested, in the ordinary sense of the word.

The Rev. Leighton Coleman, S. T. D., and the Rev. W. F. Nichols were the candidates. On the twenty-first ballot the clergy elected Mr. Nichols, but the laity did not confirm. On the twenty-fourth ballot Dr. Coleman was elected by the clergy and confirmed by the laity. The following is Dr. Coleman's letter of acceptance:

THE RECTORY, SAYRE, PA.
THIRD SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY.
JUNE 17, 1888.

The Rev. L. W. Gibson, the Rev. J. Leighton McKim, the Hon. E. L. Martin, Edward Fowler, Esq., M. D., Committee, etc.:

Dear Brethren:

The official notification of my election as Bishop of Delaware has had my most earnest and prayerful consideration.

So far as I am able to judge I humbly believe it to be the LORD'S will that I should accept the election, and this I now do, subject, of course, to the necessary ratification by the constituted authorities of the Church.

My sincere thanks are due to you and your fellow Churchmen for the hearty expressions of confidence and affection which I have already received, and I beg that you will continue to remember the Diocese and myself in your prayers.

In the hope that by the grace of GOD my weakness may be made strength for the work which may be before me,

I remain, faithfully yours, LEIGHTON COLEMAN.

CENTRAL PENNSYLVANIA.

The seventeenth annual convention of the Diocese of Central Pennsylvania assembled in S. Luke's Church, Scranton, June 12. Outside of its routine work, the adoption of an amendment to Canon VII was adopted by which, in case the vestry of a parish do not fill a vacancy in the rectorship within three months, the Bishop may send a clergyman in priest's orders as *locum tenens*, who is to receive monthly a salary at the rate the last rector was paid during his last year as rector. Also, that delegates to the Convention must be communicants.

OHIO.

The seventy-first annual convention of the Diocese of Ohio assembled in Grace Church, Sandusky, June 12. The sermon was preached by the venerable Dr. Bolles, of Cleveland. The election of an Assistant Bishop was the chief work of the convention. The Rev. W. H. Nichols, of S. James' Church, Philadelphia; the Rev. Dr. G. Williamson Smith and the Rev. C. S. Bates, D. D., of Cleveland, were put in nomination.

The clergy then proceeded to ballot, with the following result:

First ballot—Dr. Bates, 11; Dr. Smith, 16; Mr. Nichols, 21; blank, 1. Total, 49.

Second ballot—Dr. Bates, 8; Dr. Smith, 15; the Rev. G. W. Williamson, 1; Mr. Nichols, 25. Total, 49.

Mr. Nichols having received a majority of one, was declared the choice of the clergy.

After some discussion the laity had a conference of half an hour before proceeding to ballot. The roll of the Secretary showed that ninety-nine laymen had answered to their names and were entitled to vote, making fifty the number of votes necessary to a confirmation.

The result of the first ballot was: To accept, 50; to reject, 44. The chairman thereupon declared Mr. Nichols to be elected.

After Morning Prayer on Thursday, the motion to make the election of Mr. Nichols unanimous was passed without a dissenting voice. Dr. Nichols declined the election in the following letter.

2104 PINE STREET, PHILADELPHIA, July 2, 1888.

The Rev. R. L. Howell, the Rev. C. S. Bates, D. D., the Hon. D. L. King, Committee:

Gentlemen:

I beg to communicate to you, and through you to the Ecclesiastical Authority of the Diocese of Ohio, my action upon the notification of my election as Assistant Bishop of Ohio. There can come, it seems to me, no more serious communication to one in the Orders of the Church than that you did me the honor to bring me, and with inexpressible concern I have poured out my heart to GOD by myself, and have trust-

fully looked to the prayers of others, that the Holy Spirit would clearly reveal to me the will of the Master.

The cordial resolutions of the Convention sent me by the Secretary, your own weighty words, the prompt and hearty messages from the Diocesan, the earnest and forcible representations and many valued assurances of welcome in private communications, have so impressed me with the character of the work presented, that day after day I have been straitened to know, as one who must give account, what my duty was.

Now that a result has been reached, I can only say of it that it has been my constant endeavor, while seeking the Holy Spirit's aid through all means, to be delivered from all blindness of heart in the patient study of the claims of duty involved. The result is that my duty seems to be to continue in the duty of my present station, and to decline the election.

With an appreciation of the honor and confidence bestowed upon me, which is as deep as the experiences associated with it, I am,

Yours very sincerely,

WILLIAM F. NICHOLS.

RHODE ISLAND.

The Ninety-eighth Annual Convention of the Diocese of Rhode Island, assembled in Grace Church Chapel, Providence, June 12, the Bishop of the Diocese presiding.

Of great interest to the Church is the following report read by the Rev. Henry Bassett from the Committee on Divorce:

The Committee appointed at the last session of the Convention to draft a form of memorial or petition to the Legislature of this State praying its members to enact more stringent legislation in regard to the subject of divorce respectfully beg leave to report:

Your Committee interpret the phrase 'form of memorial or petition' to refer not to the actual wording of such a document, but rather to the argument and recommendations to be therein contained.

Your Committee believe that it should be represented to the Legislature: 1. That this State occupies an unenviable position among the States of the Union with reference to the matter of divorce. That in its ability to preserve the inviolability of the marriage bond it ranks very nearly, if not quite, at the foot of the list.

In Vermont in 1878 the ratio was one divorce to every 21.4 marriages. Massachusetts, in 1883, one to twenty-eight. Connecticut for

the fourteen years ending with 1878, one to ten. Maine, 1880, one to ten. Rhode Island, 1879, one to 9.7.

Outside of New England, as a rule, the proportion is better. In Ohio, in 1883, it was one to sixteen. New Jersey, in 1883, one to fifty. New York City, 1882, one to thirty. In some counties of California and in Denver, Col., the rate is even lower than in Rhode Island. In Indiana it is about the same. Even the once famous Cook County, in Illinois, has now improved to the extent of one in seventeen. For the last half dozen years Rhode Island is believed on good authority to have maintained the highest divorce rate east of the Mississippi river.

2. That for the past twenty years the ratio of divorces to marriages in this State has steadily increased. In the last annual report of the State Board of Health it is stated that for the ten years, 1869 to 1878, inclusive, the ratio was one to thirteen; during the six years, 1879 to 1884, inclusive, the ratio was one to 9.9.

3. That many States in the Union are now engaged in active efforts for reform. Pennsylvania and Vermont have already secured legislation which has worked beneficial results, while Michigan has just placed a new law upon her statute books, one of the best thus far secured by any State, and from which large reformatory results are anticipated. New York and Massachusetts have also accomplished something, while Ohio, Minnesota and the District of Columbia are now engaged in what will probably issue in successful agitation of the subject.

If other States with records cleaner than that of Rhode Island are moving so zealously for the mitigation of this evil, is it not incumbent upon the people of this Commonwealth to similarly bestir themselves?

It may be urged that the best remedy for the evils of divorce lies in the improvement of the moral tone of the community. True! But one of the prime factors in this process of moral improvement is better divorce laws. In this connection it seems desirable to quote a few sentences from a pamphlet from the pen of the Rev. Samuel W. Dike, Secretary of the National Divorce Reform League, to whom your Committee desires to express its indebtedness for advice as to methods of good work and also for specific suggestions as to reform.

Mr. Dike says: 'The proximate cause of the increase of divorces is our loose divorce laws and the procedure under them. * * * The relaxation of the laws seems to tell invariably on the statistics; and, on the other hand, such legal restrictions as have been made generally check the increase or reduce the number.

'The chief secret of the excellent record of New Jersey, to give an illustration, is probably in the peculiarly strict features of her procedure.

* * * And, still further, the absence or neglect of all punishment for desertion, extreme cruelty and generally even for adultery, exposes the family to great perils. Were the family attended from its beginning to its end with anything like the legal safeguards which protect property, divorces and bad marriages would be vastly fewer than they are.'

Is it not indeed unfortunate that the remedy offered and most frequently applied by the State for domestic unhappiness is the 'knife applied to the vital bond,' and the practical annihilation of the family?

In this State ten per cent. of all the families formed within its limits suffer this legalised capital punishment, come to this unnatural and violent end.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

Your Committee find that in this State there are seven specified causes for which divorces are decreed. They are:

1. Adultery.
2. Extreme cruelty.
3. Willful desertion for five years of either of the parties, or for a shorter period in the discretion of the court.
4. Continued drunkenness.
5. Neglect or refusal to provide necessaries (having ability) for the subsistence of a wife.
6. Gross misbehavior and wickedness other than aforesaid.
7. Impotency.

A. At present, from reasons of expediency, it is not deemed advisable, with one exception, to strike at any of the above causes. The doors, we believe, should be shut, but for the present we do not ask it. The one exception is clause 6, which may be known as the omnibus clause, and which legally opens the door for divorce for any cause whatsoever.

We believe that nearly every State has now abolished this general provision, and with wholesome results. All causes for divorce should be specifically defined, and not left entirely to the discretion of the court.

We do not charge abuse at present under this provision; but with a judge or judges upon the bench with loose ideas upon this subject it opens the way for every form and species of abuse.

B. The term of residence within the State required of parties seeking divorce should be raised from one to two years.

This will have a tendency to reduce the number coming to us from outside the State to take advantage of our exceptional facilities. To

further check this practice it is also recommended that a provision be introduced in the statutes.

C. That no divorce be granted in this State for causes arising outside of the State, and to people living outside of the State at the time of the arising of such cause when the same cause is not recommended as ground of divorce in the State where the parties then lived. This your Committee regard as a most desirable provision.

D. All applications for divorce should be filed at a term of court preceding that in which the case is tried, and no trial take place within six months of the time of such application.

This provision would prevent haste, and give time to the parties for more deliberate consideration. In Vermont after this law was adopted divorces fell off one-third.

E. Require that the petitioner for divorce shall not be allowed to remarry within one year from the time of the granting of the decree, and the respondent (presumably the guilty party) shall not be permitted to remarry within five years.

This would in some measure remove the temptation to seek divorce as a means to an end, and also have a tendency to check collusive divorces.

F. Make willful desertion, which is one of the most frequently alleged causes of divorce, a statutory offence, and provide that in all cases where the cause or causes under which the divorce is granted are for statutory offences, it shall be the duty of the court to send such case to the Attorney-General for prosecution, and further provide that the court shall have power to require witnesses to appear at the time of prosecution.

This last your Committee believe to be one of the most important of all the recommendations.

It seems almost beyond belief that hundreds of divorces should be granted every year on the ground of criminal offences, and yet few, if any, prosecutions should result therefrom.

It is improbable, however, that any improvement in the divorce laws of the State can be secured through the petition of our own Church alone. Public sentiment must be aroused to the magnitude of the evil in our midst, and if possible other bodies of Christians must be induced to join with us in our efforts to improve the, in this particular, bad name of our State.

In conclusion, we submit the following resolutions:

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by this convention to present to the Legislature of this State in the form of a memorial or peti-

tion the general facts and arguments contained in this report, together with the recommendations or suggestions for reform therein made.

Resolved, That the said committee be authorised to confer with representatives of other bodies of Christians, with a view of securing united action on the part of the religious community on the general lines herein described.

[Signed] HARRY BASSETT,
EDWARD S. BABBITT,
W. N. ACKLEY,
CLAUDIUS B. FARNSWORTH,
EDWARD D. BASSETT.

The resolutions of the Committee were adopted on motion of the Rev. Dr. Greer.

RECEPTION OF MONSIGNOR BOULAND.

On Sunday morning, June 17 (Third Sunday after Trinity), in Grace Church, New York city, the Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of New York, in the presence of the Rev. Charles F. B. Miel, D.D., of Philadelphia, the Rev. Ormes B. Keith and the Rev. G. H. McD. Bottome, presbyters, received into the ministry of the Church the Rev. Leon Bouland.

The following allocution was pronounced by Bishop Potter:

Good people, this is he whom we purpose, GOD willing, to receive this day into the fellowship and service of the priesthood as the same has been instituted and ordained by our LORD JESUS through His holy Apostles. Be it known to you and to the whole congregation of CHRIST'S flock, that he hath formerly made due confession of the Faith before men; that after diligent preparation and on proof of his learning and godly conversation he hath already been made a priest in the Church of GOD and in that branch thereof known as the Church of Rome; that he had faithfully and irreproachably served in this office not only abroad, but in this land; that we have in our keeping besides other sufficient testimony so also express and documentary evidence that up to the time of his application to us he was held in confidence and affection as a priest by the authorities to whom he was subject and where he was urgently desired to remain; that after long continued and devout study of Holy Scripture, of sacred science and Christian history he hath been constrained to seek admission to the communion of this Church as holding fast and representing unbroken the pure primitive

and common creed, discipline and worship of the apostolic age and of centuries before the papal usurpation and schism between the West and the East, which Church therefore is truly catholic, and that while retaining those essentials of belief and practice which we hold together with the Latin communion he hath renounced those erroneous and strange doctrines imposed by mistaken men on the original Gospel and incorrupt truth revealed in GOD'S Word. After suitable trial and examination had, we find not to the contrary, but that it is our duty, as it is our privilege, to admit and welcome him among us to the holy obligations, rights, immunities and dignities of the second order of that sacred three-fold ministry which from the apostles' time hath been in CHRIST'S Church.

After this the four questions from the ordinal for the ordering of priests, viz., that relating to Holy Scripture, to the administration of the sacraments, to the banishing and driving away erroneous and strange doctrines and to the canonical obedience to the Bishop were put and answered, and the service was concluded by appropriate collects offered by the Bishop.

The ordeal to which Mgr. Bouland had been subjected regarding his character and antecedents resulted in a manner entirely favorable to him. Both Committees appointed to examine the matter reported that his record was wholly clear and fair. It only remained to receive him into the ministry of the church.

REV. HOWARD T. WIDDEMER.

An ecclesiastical trial of great importance to the Church and society was concluded on June 21, by the pronouncing of the sentence by the Bishop of Pennsylvania in the case of the Rev. Howard T. Widdemer, priest of the diocese of Pennsylvania. Mr. Widdemer was presented and tried for violating Can. 13 of Title II of the Digest, entitled *Of Marriage and Divorce.*

The court consisted of the Rev. Henry Brown, President, and the Rev. William Ely, the Rev. John B. Falkner, D.D., the Rev. C. N. Field and the Rev. Isaac Gibson. The verdict of the members of the court was Mr. Brown, *Deposition;* Mr. Ely, *Suspension* for five years; Mr. Field, *Indefinite Suspension;*

Dr. Falkner and Mr. Gibson, *Not guilty*. We shall not comment upon the trial here, but make it the subject of an extended review later. But we place on record the sentence of the Bishop of Pennsylvania as a document worthy of the distinguished Bishop and the great Diocese over which he bears rule, and one that will prove an important factor in impressing upon society this, that the Church intends to put into practice what she teaches. It is impossible for any one to read what the Bishop has so well said, without feeling that "the time had come that judgment must begin at the house of GOD." The verdict of the President of the court was the only one that could consistently be pronounced in accordance with the Law of the Church and the facts of the case.

The Bishop's sentence and review of the case is as follows:

In the matter of the presentment and trial of the Rev. Howard T. Widdemer for a violation of Canon 13, Title 2, entitled 'Of Marriage and Divorce:'

The Rev. Howard T. Widdemer, rector of the Church of the Beloved Disciple, was duly presented by three presbyters of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, having seats in the convention, for trial under Canon 17 of the Canons of the Church in this Diocese, as guilty of immorality and of a violation of Section 1, Canon 13, Article 2, of the Canons of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, entitled 'Of Marriage and Divorce,' *inter alia*, in this:

That the said Howard T. Widdemer, having been lawfully married in the city of Albany, New York, to Josephine Godson, on or about September 18, 1871, did afterwards, to wit, on or about December 17, 1881, apply to the Superior Court of New Haven, Connecticut, for an absolute divorce from his wife, upon the sole ground that said wife had been guilty of willful desertion for more than three years then last past; that the said court afterwards, to wit, on or about April 11, 1882, entered a decree of divorce from his said wife solely upon the said ground of desertion, and that subsequently, to wit, on or about November 1, 1882, the said Howard T. Widdemer was united in marriage, in the city of New York, to Julia A. De Witt, the said Josephine G. Widdemer being then still living.

Under this charge and specification the respondent has been found guilty by a majority of the court. The Rev. Henry Brown, President of the court, has found him guilty under all of the specifications; another member of the court has found him guilty under

specifications 1 and 2 of charge 1, and another as guilty under said specification 2 only, while the other members of the court found him not guilty.

The sections of Canon 13 which are material to the present case are as follows:

SECTION I. If any persons be joined together otherwise than as GOD'S Word doth allow, their marriage is not lawful.

SECT. II. No Minister knowingly, after due inquiry, shall solemnise the marriage of any person who has a divorced husband or wife still living, if such husband or wife has been put away for any cause arising after marriage, but this Canon shall not be held to apply to the innocent party in a divorce for the cause of adultery, or to parties once divorced seeking to be united again.

SECT. III. If any Minister of this Church shall have reasonable cause to doubt whether a person desirous of being admitted to Holy Baptism or to Confirmation or to the Holy Communion has been married otherwise than as the Word of GOD and discipline of this Church allow, such Minister, before receiving such person to these ordinances, shall refer the case to the Bishop for his godly judgment thereupon; provided, however, that no Minister shall, in any case, refuse the Sacraments to a penitent person in imminent danger of death.

I have carefully examined and read the whole of the official record and the evidence in this case, embracing all the proceedings contained in the certified copy furnished to me by the court. I have also received a letter from the respondent's counsel, dated June 11, containing an argument and giving in detail their reasons why no sentence whatever should be imposed on the respondent. Canon 17 does not contemplate any further argument than has been already made, and I see no reason why this case, already unduly protracted, should be further discussed. The testimony and arguments already made fill an octavo volume of five hundred and ten pages, and I think it my duty to allow no further unnecessary delay to be interposed.

In my judgment the law of the Church is sufficiently definite and clear. Nothing but a total disregard of the object and intention of Canon 13 of Marriage and Divorce could justify the argument that a clergyman can himself contract with impunity a marriage which he is expressly forbidden to solemnise between third parties. That he is so forbidden by Section 1 of the Canon is to my mind plain, and this prohibition is because in the eye of this Church the marriage of persons divorced for any cause save adultery is 'not according to GOD'S Word.'

That the Church, prior to the Reformation, condemned and disallowed such marriages is undisputed. The first legislation of the Church of England after the Reformation appeared in the 107 and 108 Canons of 1603. These Canons provided that anyone divorced for any cause should not only not remarry, but should give bond with surety against such remarriage. These Canons ecclesiastical were, so far as applicable, the law of the Church in the Colonies before the Revolution, and I have the high authority of Bishop White for saying that the old institutions remained in force, except as far as necessarily changed by the Revolution, until altered by the authority of the Church. On questions of morals the Canons were certainly not impaired by a change in government. On the subject of marriage and divorce, the General Convention of 1808, presided over by Bishop White, passed this resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this Church that it is inconsistent with the law of GOD, and the Ministers of this Church, therefore, shall not unite in matrimony any person who is divorced, unless it be on account of the other party having been guilty of adultery.

No new Canon was passed, for none was needed. The resolution was only declaratory of the law of the Church as it had long existed.

The Canons Ecclesiastical of 1603 were published in Philadelphia in 1840 in the same volume with the Homilies, and with the express commendation of the presiding Bishop and many other Bishops and eminent divines of the Church as containing godly and wholesome doctrine. The corrupting laxity of civil divorce has grown up mainly within the last forty years, and has assumed such dangerous proportions as to excite the alarm of our civil authorities. The Governor of this Commonwealth called the attention of the legislature to the need for reform, and the late Bishop Stevens, in his Convention Address of 1885, used this forcible and eloquent language:

'The laws concerning divorce, as enacted by the several State legislatures, have been regarded as of binding authority and as amply covering the whole subject.

'To a certain extent this is true. They do bind in all questions of civil law and jurisdiction, and make legal relationships established under and protected by these laws. But even in this legislative aspect of the question, who does not see, in the laxity of the laws, in the evasions of these laws, in the inviting facilities which these laws offer to dissatisfied parties, in the injustice which marks their administration, one of the most serious evils of the day? An evil all the more serious because it enters stealthily into so many households, relaxes the sacred bond of

marriage, and thus saps the very foundations of family life and peace, upon which are based the whole superstructure of the domestic constitution as established by GOD himself. A community whose social life is vitiated by such legal privileges to break asunder the bonds of matrimony and reform them with new partners, will soon show a moral leprosy that must make it loathsome and unclean in the sight of GOD and man. But leaving this part of the subject, there is another aspect of the case with which we are more nearly concerned. I mean how the Church, as a Church, should deal with this wide subject.

'As ministers, as disciples of the LORD JESUS and bound in our ministrations by the precepts of the Gospel, which allows but one cause for divorce, we are often placed in embarrassing positions between our duty as defined by civil law, and as dictated by a Christian conscience bound by canon law.

'Our Church has distinctly legislated on this subject in Title II, Canon 13, 'Of Marriage and Divorce.' Here, in the forefront of the Canon, she postulates the underlying principle which she finds in Scripture, and which she incorporates into her law: 'If any persons be joined together otherwise than as GOD's Word doth allow their marriage is not lawful.'

'What must logically follow from this fundamental statement? Simply this: 'If any persons are divorced otherwise than as GOD's Word doth allow, such divorce is not lawful.' By the provisions of Section 3 of this Canon the sacraments are to be withheld from persons 'married otherwise than as GOD's Word doth allow.' What is the correlative of this? Why surely this, that the sacraments should be withheld from persons divorced otherwise than as GOD's Word doth allow.

'Yet, here the law of the Church and the law of "the land" often come in conflict. The law of the land permits marriages which the Church cannot permit. The law of the land permits divorces which the Church with due loyalty to her Divine LORD and Head cannot recognise, and the clergy are often placed in a strait between two opposing interests, and are sore perplexed.

'Feeling that the whole system of divorce legislation, not only here but in most of the States of the Union, is vicious, and works only to the benefit of designing knaves, and to the destruction of the family constitution; and feeling further, that wise and Scriptural legislation can be secured only by and through a wholesome tone of public sentiment; and feeling yet further, that this is a grave moral as well as social question, I regard it the duty of the Church of CHRIST, to plant herself on the decision of CHRIST and educate public opinion in the right direction.'

It appears by the evidence (page 246 of record) that Howard T. Widdemer drew up and, together with his wife, executed the following agreement, dated June, 1877:

'We, the undersigned, Howard T. Widdemer, of the first part, and Josephine G. Widdemer, of the second part, married September 8, 1871, in S. Peter's Church, Albany, and having since that date until September 3, 1872, lived together as man and wife, and having since September 3, 1872, lived apart, do hereby mutually agree with each other to live apart from each other during the remainder of our natural lives upon the following conditions and terms:

'1. We mutually release each other from all rights of person and property, and from all claims of money or support.

'2. That the custody of our child, William Lloyd Widdemer, born November 15, 1872, be vested in his mother, the said Josephine G. Widdemer, who, in consideration of becoming responsible for his entire support, shall have the exclusive control and direction of him during the period of her natural life, or until the child shall become twenty-one years of age.'

The record of the Superior Court of New Haven County, in the State of Connecticut [page 98 of record], shows that a divorce was granted by that Court to Howard T. Widdemer, on April 11, 1882, on the ground of willful desertion for more than three years, but the record fails to shows that the court had any knowledge of the existence of the agreement of separation. The reasonable inference is that it had no such knowledge.

Mrs. Josephine G. Widdemer, ever since her marriage in 1871, has been, and still continues to be, a resident of Albany, in the State of New York. In the divorce proceedings in Connecticut she did not appear, nor was she represented by counsel. Under the decisions of the civil courts of New York, and in Pennsylvania also, such a divorce would have no binding force, as the Connecticut court never had at any time any jurisdiction over the person of Mrs. Widdemer. Her domicil has always been the State of New York.

In the case of Colvin *vs.* Reed, decided by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, and reported in 55 Penna. State Rep., page 380, the Court says: 'The law of domicil implies that it is the actual domicil of both of the parties, or was when the offending party left it. In a proceeding to dissolve a marriage the parties stand upon a level of rights. When the injured party seeks a new domicil, and the domicils are, therefore, actually different, there is no greater reason why the husband's new domicil should prevail over the wife's than that hers should

prevail over his. In this aspect justice requires that neither should draw the other within the folds of a foreign jurisdiction. * * * The publication of the notice makes no difference, for back of it lies the want of power of the distant State to subject her to its jurisdiction. Nothing short of possession of the person before or at the time of the proceedings can warrant this.'

In Reel *vs.* Elder, 62 Penna. State Reports, page 315, the above language in Colvin *vs.* Reed was quoted by Judge Sharswood as the rule in Pennsylvania, Judge Sharswood saying further: 'The rule thus established is so reasonable and fair that it must commend itself to every man's innate sense of justice; for surely it needs no argument to prove that no one who has not shut himself out by his own voluntary act of flight from justice should be condemned without a hearing or an opportunity to be heard. Nor did the evidence given of the notice of the pendency of the proceeding, admitting that it was served on the plaintiff, make any difference; for, in the language of the opinion in Colvin *vs.* Reed, "back of it lies the want of power of the distant State to subject her to its jurisdiction." Clearly, when it is once determined that a court has not jurisdiction, notice or even process duly served cannot give vitality to the judgment it may pronounce. It is null and void, at least as to any extra-territorial effect.'

If the distant State has no power 'to subject her to its jurisdiction,' how can that power be enlarged by the flimsy device of sending a registered letter to Mrs. Widdemer through the mail? It seems, therefore, clear to me under the civil law, as administered in Pennsylvania, the respondent's Connecticut divorce would be worthless even in the State's courts.

In the State of New York in the case of Vischer *vs.* Vischer, reported in volume 12 of Barbour's Supreme Court Reports, page 640, in which it was held that a divorce obtained by a husband who left New York and went to Michigan (his wife still remaining a resident of the State of New York) and in Michigan obtained a decree of divorce *a vincula* on a charge of willful desertion, the wife not having appeared, was a nullity; and the husband having married again in New York, a divorce was granted on the petition of the wife for adultery. Judge Hand said: 'But admitting that the defendant had his domicil *bona fide* in Michigan, I do not see how the divorce granted there can be sustained by our courts. It is invalid, on the grounds both of fraud and want of jurisdiction. Fraud, because the allegation of desertion was not true; and want of jurisdiction, because there was no service of process upon, or appearance of, the wife.'

In People *vs.* Baker, 76 New York Reports, page 78, it was held that the court of another State cannot adjudge the dissolution of the marital relations of a citizen of New York domiciled and actually residing there, during the pendency of judicial proceedings in such other State, without a voluntary appearance on his part therein, and that such a judgment was not a defense to an indictment against a citizen of New York for bigamy, the Supreme Court saying: 'The policy of this State always has been that there may of right be but one sufficient cause for a divorce *a vinculâ;* and that policy has been upheld, with strenuous effort, against persistent struggles of individuals to vitiate and change it.' It is gratifying to note the harmony between civil law in the State of New York on this subject of divorce for no other cause than adultery, and the law of our own Church on the same subject. Were it, however, otherwise, it would still, as the late Bishop Stevens has well said, be 'the duty of the Church of CHRIST to plant herself on the decision of CHRIST.'

In my judgment the finding of the Rev. President of the court that the respondent, Howard T. Widdemer, is guilty under all of the specifications in the presentment is the only logical and consistent result which can be reached, giving due regard to the law of the Church and to the clear and explicit evidence in the case. Nearly all of this evidence is documentary, and most of it consists of the respondent's own letters.

That the respondent's statement to the late Bishop about his only lawful wife was not true is clearly shown by the respondent's own letter of retraction of October 11, 1874, in which he wrote to his wife: 'I did not intend to convey the impression they (Bishop Doane and the Rev. Dr. Payne) received as they received it. Nor did I at the time believe what I rather intimated than said, and in a letter to the bishop, in December last, I retracted fully every word I had said. However, it was all wrong. I greatly wronged you in saying one word then or ever about you, except it was a loving word, and I earnestly ask you to forgive it all. What more can I do? It is useless for me to say that I believe my own wife to be good and pure, for I know you have not for a moment believed that I thought otherwise. But, Josie, forgive it all and everything of offense you have against me.'

As to the statement of the respondent that this letter of October 11, 1874, was written under 'duress,' it is only necessary to say that, leaving out of view the internal evidence of such a letter, the respondent, twice in November, 1874 wrote to his wife, saying on November 3 [page 236 of record]: 'I have already told you of my deep regret for

that wrong and thoughtless speaking—which gave you so much sorrow; for, believe me, my speech was hasty and passionate and thoughtless, not deliberate. Again I ask you to forgive it and to forget it all.' Again, on November 16 [page 237 of record]: 'Let me beg you to believe what I say to you. I call GOD to witness that I speak the truth to you. * * * I come again to the saddest part of our trouble. I mean the remarks I made *reflecting* on your *character*. Josie, I will admit and acknowledge the wrong of it. But that it was otherwise than the hasty utterance of passion *I deny*. As soon as I learned that they had been taken seriously I wrote to Bishop Doane, retracting every word uttered on the subject. I did not believe after that that those wrong and passionate words would ever be allowed to reach your ears.' No testimony could be plainer than these letters of the respondent.

That the late Bishop Stevens was deceived is shown by his letter of November 26, 1886, to Mr. Widdemer, in which he says: 'I received to-day the enclosed copy of a letter to your first wife, which completely upsets and denies your solemn statements to me, that she was unfaithful and that her child was not *your* child. This letter is a direct revocation of all such charges and places you in an unenviable light. It seems to me that your only plan now is to demand a Commission of Enquiry, as provided for in our Diocesan Canons, or to renounce the ministry. It is painful for me to write this, but there is such evident falsehood and deceit in this matter that it must be cleared up before you can maintain your standing in the ministry or be permitted to officiate in this Diocese.'

Mr. Widdemer has wholly discredited himself by two opposite and entirely contradictory statements in writing. Both of these cannot be true, and no man is fit to be a minister of the Church who places himself in such a position. The evidence leaves no doubt in my mind that the respondent made false statements concerning his wife to Bishop Doane and to Bishop Stevens. The only suitable punishment for such an offender is deposition from the ministry as recommended by the Rev. Henry Brown. But under the Diocesan Canon the Bishop cannot impose any sentence which shall 'exceed in severity the sentence recommended by the court.' Of the three members of the court who united in a finding of guilty, the Rev. President recommended a sentence of deposition, another recommended suspension for five years, while the third recommended 'that he be suspended from the functions of his ministry so long as his relations continue with the present Mrs. Widdemer, and until he has restored himself to the confidence of his

Bishop by manifest repentance and amendment of life.' The other two members of the court recommended 'no sentence.'

I am unable, therefore, to pronounce a sentence of deposition, and can only impose a penalty of suspension not exceeding five years. This is a wholly insufficient sentence for one who has so grievously offended against good morals, Church discipline, and, as I believe, two worthy and innocent women, whose lives have been saddened by his unprincipled conduct; but it is the extreme penalty which the finding of the court authorises me to pronounce.

Sympathy for a clergyman who has deliberately and persistently slandered his wife, and deliberately and persistently sought to deceive his Bishop, is entirely misplaced. No false sympathy for the criminal should blind our eyes to the demands of justice. It is all important that those whom the Church authorises to be the teachers of others should 'not be justly liable to evil report for error in religion or viciousness of life.' In the words of an eminent jurist of our Church: 'Let us not be affrighted from the support of discipline, because of the harsh excesses with which it has sometimes been enforced It is not made the less essential because bigots and tyrants have employed the sword or the flames in its execution. A Church without discipline must become, if it be not already, a Church without religion. Some coercive and excluding power is indispensable, wherever faith in its integrity, or life in its purity, would be vindicated or sustained.'

My sentence, therefore, is that the Rev. Howard T. Widdemer be suspended from all exercise of the offices of the ministry so long as his relations continue with the present Mrs. Widdemer (with whom he now lives) and until he restores himself to the confidence of his Bishop by manifest repentance and amendment of life; provided, however, that such suspension shall not exceed the term of five years; and I hereby suspend him accordingly.

O. W. WHITAKER, *Bishop of Pennsylvania.*

PHILADELPHIA, June 21, 1888.

Editorial.

IN justice to ourselves and the interests of THE CHURCH REVIEW, it becomes our painful duty to warn the public against transacting any business with one John G. Geddes, Jr., on account of THE CHURCH REVIEW, or to giving credit to any statements he may make concerning ourselves. The following quotation from a pamphlet recently published in explanation of the part we were forced to play in the breaking up of one of the most brutal conspiracies ever conceived, and which fell on the evidence of the conspirators themselves, before Mr. Justice Duffy, will show why we take this means to protect our good name and interests before the public. The matter contained in this quotation was made the subject of a prosecution of ourselves, by Geddes, for criminal libel, before Mr. Justice White, of New York city, who dismissed the case on Geddes' own testimony and that of his witnesses, we not being called upon to put in any defence. As it is a matter of Court Record, we can print it here without being obliged to suffer further annoyance from the man whom it concerns:

It remains only for me to deal with the real mover in the case, J. G. Geddes, and it is one of great ingratitude.

In February, 1887, I met Mr. Geddes at the office of *The Church Press*. He was out of work, and was contemplating canvassing for subscriptions to *The Churchman* on a salary of $15 a week. He had recently been discharged from the position of assistant bookkeeper in a large wholesale dry-goods house for conduct that he would himself doubtless prefer to explain, but of this I did not know at the time.* I directed my publishers, Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., to employ him at a salary of $25 a week and traveling expenses above $8 a week. In two weeks' time he asked me to have the whole of his traveling expenses paid, as he needed money for clothing and his family in

* In his testimony given on the examination before Mr. Justice White, he was obliged to admit that he was discharged from the employ of Messrs. H. J. Libby & Co., of New York, for buying a lottery ticket (or tickets).

Canada. I directed my publishers to pay him accordingly. Before he had been in their employ two months they discharged him. To this I objected, and they reinstated him, but they made so many objections to keeping him on the road that I recalled him to the City and set him at work as an advertising agent, and for a time he did well. When I withdrew THE REVIEW from Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., on the first of August, I increased his salary to $30 a week, and on the first of October to $35 a week, that he might bring his family from Canada. From the first of June to the first of November he was a guest at my house and drawing full salary. I was induced to intrust THE REVIEW to him for a time, and later to allow his name to be associated with mine in its publication. I found it would be unsafe so to continue with him in that capacity, and formed The Church Publishing Company in January last.

The day before Christmas, as it was the first time in three years he had been able to spend the festival with his family, I permitted him to draw his salary in advance, and that very day he made a report that I found subsequently did not account for money he had collected in Baltimore. [This report I have in his own handwriting.] A few days later I found that he had tried to collect a bill, claiming that it was due to him personally. Naturally, I at once discharged him. It is evident I would never have discharged him if I had not had grave reasons for doing so. I have his receipt in full to February 4, 1888.

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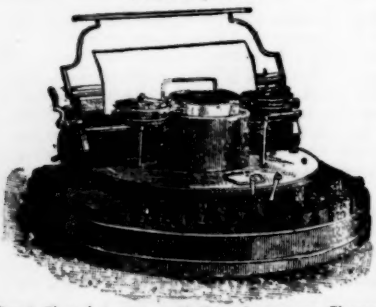
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THE "ART REVIEW" is issued Bi-Monthly (six numbers a year). Price, $1.50 a number, or $7.50 by the year. Its letter-press treats of the higher phases of art—Architecture, Paintings, Statuary, Prints &c.—primarily in this country; and its contributors include the best writers. Besides articles of a critical and instructive character, there are a large number of descriptive articles, relating to picturesque scenery in this country, to our public art museums and collections, to private galleries and collections, and to the general art character of the leading American cities. As the N. Y. Times has said, "The Art Review fills a unique field, unoccupied by any other art publication."

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The Church Review

Editorial and Business Announcements

—: FOR :—

1888 and 1889.

IT is of pre-eminent importance that the Church shall have a literature to express its best thought, and to stimulate its mental activity. It is a matter of duty as well as of pardonable pride to make this literature as good as possible, and at least to keep it up to the average standard of the age.

At the head of our current Church Literature stands the American CHURCH REVIEW, *a monthly periodical. During the last few years, and under its present editorship, it has won a deservedly high place among all similar publications in the country. It is as comprehensive in its tone as the Church itself. All schools of thought that may lawfully claim recognition are welcome to its pages. The most vital questions of the day have been discussed by it with dignity, learning and commanding ability. The field it occupies, intellectually considered, could not be allowed to become vacant without inflicting a stigma upon the character and culture of our Church.*

Thus wrote Bishop Littlejohn in 1883, and every one of the American Bishops present that year at the General Convention assembled in Philadelphia in October endorsed this commendation over his signature. It was an act unparalleled in the history of Church journalism. But it was not alone in this country that THE CHURCH REVIEW received such high commendation. In England—the land of reviews—*The Guardian*, the highest literary authority in the Church, said :

The Church in the United States should feel proud of the appear-

ance of the January number of this most valuable REVIEW now in its thirty-fourth year, which quite equals, if in some particulars it does not surpass, its English contemporaries, etc.

And later the same journal remarked:

We note with interest that the American CHURCH REVIEW, edited by the Rev. Henry Mason Baum, which has hitherto been a quarterly, now appears as a monthly magazine. It is a periodical of high character, and we congratulate our brethren across the water on the success of it.

Since its foundation in 1848 it has been the chief representative of the higher thought and scholarship of the American Church. It is to-day, after its long and honorable record, the only magazine or review in the Church devoted to purely original articles. In entering upon its forty-first year it is intended to increase its usefulness to the Church by introducing some new features which are of great interest to laymen as well as clergymen, which will make it a work for constant reference upon all subjects in which Churchmen are interested—a work indispensable to every one who wishes to keep himself informed on the progress the Church is making in its religious and educational work, and in dealing with the Social, Scientific, Philosophical, Literary and Religious questions of the day.

The Editorial Conduct of the Review.

That there may be no room for doubt as to the position the REVIEW will occupy as an independent and representative organ of the Church, a corps of about *Fifty* writers will be selected each year from among the Bishops, Clergy and Laity, representing the various phases of Churchmanship and Theological opinion in the Church. Each Theological Seminary and Literary institution with power to confer degrees will be entitled to one member of this corps of writers. Each writer will be pledged to contribute at least one article on some topic of interest to Churchmen. Should any complaint be made concerning the editorial management, it will be submitted to this corps of writers, and the editor will be governed by the opinions given on the question submitted.

This at once raises the REVIEW far above the possibility of

its being used for partisan purposes and ends, and enables every Churchman to labor for its success under the full assurance that it is the organ of the Church and not of the editor or a party in the Church.

The following is a partial list of writers for 1888 and 1889. Other articles will be admitted on special subjects.

Bishops.

Rt. Rev. John Williams, D. D., LL.D., Bishop of Connecticut and Presiding Bishop of the Church of the United States; Rt. Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Western New York; Rt. Rev. William Croswell Doane, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Albany; Rt. Rev. Frederick Dan Huntington, S.T.D., Bishop of Central New York; Rt. Rev. Thomas Underwood Dudley, D.D., Bishop of Kentucky; Rt. Rev. George Franklin Seymour, D.D., Bishop of Springfield.

Clergy.

Rev. Professor A. V. G. Allen, D.D., Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge; Rev. A. H. Bailey, D.D.; Rev. Prof. A. A. Benton, S.T.D., University of the South; Rev. Edward E. Beardsley, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. Thomas S. Cartwright, M.A.; Rev. Prof. Joseph M. Clark, D.D., Nashotah Theological Seminary; Rev. John H. Elliott, D.D.; Rev. Prof. John J. Elmendorf, D.D., Racine College; Rev. Campbell Fair, D.D.; Rev. Prof. Henry Ferguson, M.A., Trinity College; Rev. Benjamin Franklin, D.D.; Rev. Prof. Thomas F. Gailor, M.A., University of the South; Rev. Prof. William J. Gold, S.T.D., Western Theological Seminary; Rev George Z. Gray, D.D., Episcopal Theological School., Cambridge; Rev. Prof. Samuel Hart, D.D., Trinity College; Rev. Robert A. Holland, S.T.D.; Rev. John Henry Hopkins, S.T.D.; Rev. T. Patrick Hughes, B.D., M.R.A.S.; Rev. William R. Huntington, D.D.; Rev. Prof. Frederick S. Jewell, Ph.D., Racine College; Rev. Edward H. Jewett, S.T.D.; Rev. Prof. John S. Kedney, D.D., Seabury Divinity School; Rev. Reuben Kidner, M.A.; Rev. Prof. William Lawrence, M.A.; Rev. Prof. Robert T. S. Lowell, S.T.D.; Rev. Donald J. Mackey, M.A.,

England; Rev. Arthur Lowndes, Canada; Rev. Robert C. Matlack, D.D.; Rev. Cleland K. Nelson, D.D.; Rev. William Wilberforce Newton, M.A.; Rev. Prof. Thomas Richey, D.D., General Theological Seminary; Rev. Joseph H. Rylance, D.D.; Rev. Prof. J. Macbride Sterrett, D.D., Seabury Divinity School; Rev. Prof. Moses Coit, Tyler, L.H.D., LL.D., Cornell University; Rev. Prof. William W. Wilson, D.D., LL.D.

Laity.

Prof. Henry Coppeè, LL.D., Lehigh University; Hon. S. Corning Judd, LL.D., Chicago; Appleton Morgan, Esq., New York; Hon. Francis J. Parker, Boston; Hon. L. Bradford Prince, New York; Gen. Edward McCready, Jr., and Col. E. M. Seabrook, Charleston, S.C.; Hon. E. T. Wilder, Red Wing, Minn.; Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker, Miss Grace E. Meredith, and Sidney Welmore, Boston.

Such a corps of writers will ensure variety, originality, ability, and impartiality; and it will be strange indeed if the REVIEW, which is thus made the medium for the communication of their thoughts to the Church and world, does not attain the highest literary merit, and command the widest circulation.

In no former age has speculation been more rife, or unbelief more defiant, or morality more endangered; and never before was the Church so well equipped by scholarship and evidence to grapple with the gravest problems, to refute the most insidious errors, and to perform the noblest and most benificent, moral and intellectual work. As the ally of the Church in its Divine mission the REVIEW will render tributary to it all that genius, and learning can command; and in every numl er such topics will be considered as may best meet the wants of the Church, and suitably influence the public mind.

The Symposium.

In addition to subjects of general interest, others of a more specific nature will be discussed. These discussions will take the form of a symposium, on some given queston of vital and practical import. The REVIEW will thus briefly lay before the

Church the opinions of some of her most prominent men on leading topics of the times, and will endeavor to keep it fully abreast of the age in independent criticism and scholarship. Such discussions will be supplemented by open letters, on subjects already mentioned, or others the editor may think fit to introduce, the writers being persons whose judgment is entitled to respect.

Contemporary Literature.

As heretofore, THE CHURCH REVIEW will devote considerable space to critical notices of Contemporary Literature. It has enjoyed a well earned reputation for ability and impartiality in this department. This reputation will be maintained and enhanced. Churchmen will be kept duly informed of every event of literary interest, and will be intelligently guided in the ever widening field of literature.

Contemporary Ecclesiastical and University History.

In Contempory Ecclesiastical and University History the REVIEW will take a new departure. It is of prime importance that we preserve an accurate record of Church progress, and that our people be rightly aided in forming an estimate of character and event. The progress of the Church during late years has been phenomenal; the enterprises of the Church to-day command universal respect; and as well for information as for guidance and stimulus, the doings of the Church should be recorded. An Ecclesiastical Register was a distinguishing feature of the REVIEW in its earlier years, combined with a plan for reporting University Intelligence. In a fuller degree both features will henceforth be incorporated in the REVIEW; and thus every month the Church will be supplied with a carefully prepared and reliable report of its work and progress, and thus the REVIEW will prove a valuable auxiliary of every Church institution and enterprise.

Necrological Record.

It will also give a short biographical notice of every deceased Bishop, Clergyman and distinguished Layman of the

Church in the United States. Great care will be taken to make it absolutely accurate.

Parochial Directory.

In addition, there will be regularly given, beginning with the November number, a Parochial Directory, containing a record of clerical changes during the month, of parishes which have become vacant, and of clergymen who are available for election, or supply. Such a record will be useful to both clergy and parishes, and will, we are sure, be highly appreciated.

A journal conducted on such a basis, and in such a spirit, will be invaluable to the Church. Without it, indeed, she would be wanting in an essential agency for the promotion of her work.

Within the sphere of the Church there is room, there is material, there is ability for the publication and support of a REVIEW which in all its characteristic features shall favorably compare with the best periodicals published in Europe; and after its honorable record in the past THE CHURCH REVIEW will aspire to a loftier position and exert a wider influence in the future.

It only remains to express the hope that all members of the Church and all lovers of good literature will unite in the effort needed for success; and THE CHURCH REVIEW will be in the future more than in the past an honor to the Church and a power in the land.

Financial Management.

Equal provision has been made to secure financial success through the business management of the REVIEW. Like many other periodicals of the same character THE CHURCH REVIEW has not met with the financial success to which its high literary character and position in the Church entitled it. Large sums of money, under various managements, have been expended without any apparent return.

In the future the Proprietor will have the assistance and advice of a Committee of Gentlemen of large experience. The names of this Committee, for obvious reasons, will not be made public. But it is intended to put into the REVIEW matter that

Churchmen of intelligence should, and we believe will, desire to read, and then to make it accessible to the public by its prompt publication, and by conducting its affairs on strictly business principles.

TERMS: The annual subscription price has been reduced from $4 to $3, and must be paid annually in advance, or on the receipt of each monthly number. We believe that the plan devised by which subscribers can pay on the receipt of each monthly number will be of very great convenience to a large majority of Churchmen both Clerical and Lay. To those who will agree to take the REVIEW for one year and pay on the receipt of each issue, a card will be sent out with each number in which a silver 25 cent piece can be enclosed to the publisher. The price therefore to regular monthly subscribers will be the same as though paid yearly in advance.

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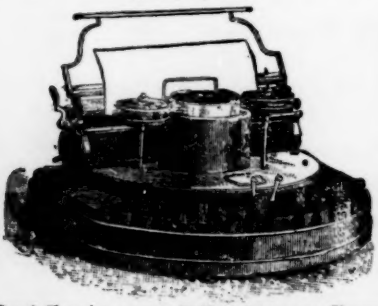
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